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# THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY

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The  
**South Atlantic Quarterly**

Volume XXVII

JULY, 1928

Number 3

**GREAT BRITAIN—NINE YEARS AFTER THE  
ARMISTICE**

WILLIAM T. MORGAN  
University of Indiana

**B**RITISH politicians are busily engaged in putting their house in order preparatory to a new election, which may come, of course, at any time, but must come before the close of 1929. Liberal, Laborite and Conservative are all maneuvering for position. The Conservatives appear a bit perturbed, partly because they have been unable to carry out a program calculated to appeal to the electorate, but more largely, perhaps, because in nineteen by-elections that have occurred since the general election they have lost eight seats to the Laborites and four to the Liberals, four of these losses coming since the beginning of the year 1928. All these by-elections show considerable Labor gains. What has occasioned this loss of popularity of the Conservative party which won more than two-thirds of the seats in the appeal to the country in the autumn of 1924?

I

The year 1926 closed on a very low note in Great Britain, for it had witnessed the General Strike, which for ten days had threatened the existence of the state. This dangerous experiment collapsed, but the strike of the miners continued almost to the close of the year, midst mutual recriminations upon the part of the miners, the mine owners, and the ministry. During those trying days, unemployment increased and economic reconstruction, so badly needed since the close of the war, had to wait for happier times. The mine owners were almost jubilant, the ministry pusillanimous, the trade unions sullen, and the public pessimistic.

In the realm of foreign affairs the government had made little progress during the previous year, which ended with uncertainty in Russian relations and definite uneasiness over British interests in China. The imperial problem appeared no nearer solution with the Dominions showing ever greater independence of the Mother Country and India still restlessly demanding greater autonomy. The year 1927 opened, therefore, with the hope that the ministry might effect something in the way of economic reconstruction, imperial reorganization, and more satisfactory diplomatic relations with Russia and China.

Political parties have remained in an unsettled condition during the last twelve months, the Liberals having displayed the greatest signs of life. Lloyd George's election fund still continues to arouse considerable interest. Early last year the doughty Welshman, in the hope of rejuvenating the party, expressed a willingness to set aside from his fund a sufficient amount to place Liberal candidates in the field at the next election wherever there appeared the slightest chance of success, and provide for the expenses of the national headquarters of the party. The suggestion occasioned considerable comment not only on the part of the Conservatives and Laborites, but by certain Liberals as well. On two occasions, the aged Lord Rosebery inquired for information as to the source of this private election fund, remarking that if it came from the sale of honors, he knew of nothing worse since the time of Charles II and Walpole. Viscount Grey also vigorously asserted that it was dangerous that so large a political fund, whose origin was suspected, should be controlled by one man.

The Liberals proceeded, meanwhile, to reorganize. Mr. Vivian Philips, notoriously hostile to Lloyd George, resigned as Chairman of the Liberals and Sir Herbert Samuel was elected in his stead. Samuel's "80 Club speech," upon accepting the responsibility, pleaded for Liberal unity, and did arouse new vigor in the party despite the criticisms of Rosebery and the formation of a new and separate Liberal Council, headed by Lord Grey as president and Mr. Phillips as chief executive officer. The Liberal Administrative Com-

mittee, however, accepted Mr. Lloyd George's financial assistance and in due time his trustees handed over £300,000 to be used in helping defray the Liberal campaign expenses in some 500 Constituencies. In addition, Lloyd George was to furnish £35,000 a year for three years for the upkeep of the national headquarters of his party. Largely on account of the attacks of Lord Rosebery and Lord Grey, Mr. Lloyd George finally felt it necessary to say something of the origins of the fund. He said that its accumulation had been left entirely in the hands of the Chief Whips of the party, and that he was unfamiliar with the details connected with the creation of peers and the granting of honors. While this matter was being aired it became clear that Mr. Lloyd George had followed the same custom as Lord Rosebery and the Earl of Balfour when they had been in charge of the Government. However, he emphasized the fact that personally he had never touched a penny of the fund and that his present gift to the Liberals was unconditional.

During the year 1927 the Liberals gained some strength at the expense of both the Laborites and Conservatives. The Labor Party entered the new year sullen but determined. It was, moreover, rather discredited by the General Strike of the previous year, and weakened financially both by the terrible condition of the miners and the continuance of serious unemployment. The party was also badly divided. Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden did not always see eye to eye, while the Left Wing of the party continued to flirt with the Russian extremists, which occasioned the labor leaders no end of embarrassment. They made some headway in the by-elections. In the borough elections, moreover, they won more than a hundred extra seats, although they actually gained control in only one additional borough—Birkenhead.

During the year the Independent Labor group appeared to be drawing off from Mr. MacDonald's leadership. They snubbed him by refusing to renominate him as treasurer or to appoint him as a delegate, despite the complete dressing down they received at the hands of Mr. Arthur Henderson. The position of Mr. Snowden became increasingly

trying for the party, more particularly with reference to the Budget for the year. The moderate group were both strengthened and relieved by his resignation from the I. L. P. Despite the economic depression, which greatly affected the Laborites, they were able to prevent any great defection from their ranks and completed a political agreement with the Coöperative Party which claimed a membership of 2,000,000.

On a few occasions the Laborites displayed bad temper in Parliament. The voting of £7,000 towards the expenses of the trip of the Duke and Duchess of York to Australia was the occasion of an unseemly demonstration on their part. They bitterly resented the application of clôture in the Trade Union Bill and when the premier himself failed to speak upon the frightful condition of the mining population the Laborites howled down Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, the spokesman of the ministry. The first half of the year, however, the Labor Party seemed badly divided, but the Trade Union Bill was immediately accepted by them as a declaration of class warfare on the part of the Conservatives and brought about surprising unity in their ranks.

The Conservative (or Unionist) Party had come into power in 1924 as a minority party, controlling, however, a majority of more than two hundred in the House of Commons. This large majority, unfortunately, has never been responsive to discipline at the hands of Mr. Baldwin, who has been kept in constant hot water by the irrepressible Die Hards making up the Right Wing of his party. Certain elements in the party displayed a tendency toward getting out of hand, particularly over the attempt to reform the House of Lords and over Churchill's Budget of 1927, and to a slightly less extent over granting the franchise to women under 21—the so-called "flapper franchise." This state of affairs may account for the lack of a definite, clear cut Conservative policy. During the year this condition became so pronounced that even so stalwart a supporter of the government as the *Times* (London) felt called upon to suggest that some of the more unpopular and ineffective members of his ministry should be dropped to make way for more promising men. The attitude of the press

syndicates towards Mr. Baldwin remained ambiguous. Lord Rothermere's popular organs were once more, as in 1923, rather openly flirting with Lloyd George; so much so that the prime minister publicly inquired whether Lord Rothermere was for him or against him. Another evidence of internal friction in the Cabinet was the resignation of Robert, Lord Cecil, who had been the British representative at Geneva. He was succeeded by Mr. Ronald McNeill, soon thereafter raised to the peerage as Lord Cushendun, who has none of the progressive tendencies of Lord Cecil. The back benches of the Conservative party feel neglected and the prime minister appears to have few comparatively ardent supporters.

## II

The position of the Conservative party became increasingly difficult in the face of its manifest failure either to alleviate the problems of unemployment or lighten the load of taxation. As the party in power, however, the Unionists were committed to certain legislation affecting the political and legal status of trade unions, a reform of the House of Lords, and the bestowal of the franchise upon women between 21 and 30. In attempting to carry out this last promise the ministry encountered considerable opposition from the Die Hards who, supported by Lord Rothermere's popular *Daily Mail*, called attention to the danger of conferring the ballot upon the irresponsible "flapper," increasing the voting population by four and a half a million and giving the women a majority over the men in seventy percent of British constituencies.

The present movement for reforming the House of Lords has been under way ever since that body was emasculated by the Liberal-Labor combination in 1911. In recent years there has been a constant fear among the Conservatives that if once the Laborites gained control of the Commons, they might take advantage of the helplessness of the House of Lords, either to abolish it entirely or radically reform the Constitution for their own purpose and pass any socialistic legislation they chose, such as a heavy surtax on large unearned incomes. Many others also felt that the composition of the upper house

should be sufficiently liberalized so that entire equality in legislation with the House of Commons might be restored to it. Still others, feeling that the creation of 270 peers since 1870 (200 of them in the past twenty years) had tended to degrade the peerage, demanded that such tendencies be curbed for the future.

This question was expected to be raised last year in keeping with the Conservative promise "that the will of the people was to be safeguarded by an effective second chamber." Last July Mr. Baldwin served notice upon Parliament that the ministry intended to reform the Constitution as to the House of Lords. Despite such warning, the move came rather suddenly through Lord Cave's pronouncement in a startled house. He first suggested cutting down the membership to 350—less than half the present number. Besides peers of the blood royal, law barons, bishops and archbishops, the group was to consist of hereditary peers elected by the whole body of peers, and a certain number to be nominated by the Crown with the assistance of the prime minister. The elected and nominated peers were to hold their places for twelve years, one-third of them retiring every fourth year. It was further provided that a bill amending the Constitution was not to come under the provision of the Parliament Act of 1911, and the determination of money-bills should be made by a standing joint committee of the two houses rather than by the Speaker of the Commons. Lastly, bills dealing with local rates should not be construed as money bills. The bill encountered considerable opposition not only from the Laborites and Liberals, but from the ranks of the younger Conservatives as well. Mr. Baldwin was embarrassed by the unexpected opposition inside his party and when 70 Conservative peers signed a petition against going on with the measure until the party itself could reach a general agreement as to its provisions, the bill was practically withdrawn, except for the final provision.

For the moment, at least, the ministry seemed to be more successful with the Trade Union Bill. Among other things, the bill declared General Strikes illegal. Picketing was carefully regulated to prevent intimidation. For the future a

trade union member must give his contract in writing to permit the collection of political funds from his wages. Civil servants of the crown were forbidden to belong to unions and municipalities could not insist that an employe belong. Finally, the Attorney-General could enjoin the use of the trade union funds secured contrary to the provisions of this bill.

The bill, upon its introduction, immediately encountered the stoutest opposition. Mr. MacDonald described it as "the most aggressive declaration of class war that has been made in our time." Other political leaders both in and out of the Labor party, foretold that it would unite all factions of that party in a class struggle. Representatives of the Laborites and the Trade Union Congress pledged themselves to fight the bill in every part. Even the *Spectator*, a Conservative organ, felt that it was a mistake to risk arousing class antagonisms by attempting to reform the trade unions from without. Labor assaulted the bill partly because it protected "black-legs", but was silent on lockouts. The bill had the appearance of being hastily drafted and was poorly defended by the Attorney-General against the vicious assaults upon it. It was evident that the Die Hards hoped by the bill to paralyze the political power of Labor, while the Laborites distrusted the impartiality of the courts, which would be asked to interpret the bill. So embittered and concereted were the attacks upon the bill in the Commons, that after two days and nights with their multitudes of Labor amendments, only seven words of the first clause had been passed. Mr. Baldwin thereupon invoked the "guillotine" (*clôture*) to pass a clause a day. The Laborites forthwith walked out in disgust, but returned to their seats the following day.

Under such conditions the bill passed, but the Laborites have served notice that they will oppose it to the bitter end. Ernest Bevin, General Secretary of the Transport Workers, announced officially that his union would make no amendment to its rules nor accommodate itself to the act in any way; it would continue its policy of amalgamation and grouping in violation of the law, and was willing to take the consequences. The same spirit is apparent in the answer of the Trades

Union Congress to Mr. Baldwin's plea for coöperation. In this reply, they challenged him either to repeal the Trade Union Act or appeal to the country. On May Day, 1927, 2,000 meetings were held in Great Britain to protest against the measure.

### III

The Labor group was not entirely intransigent, however. The general tone of the speeches and resolutions of the Trades Union Congress last autumn was moderate and looked towards coöperation with employers in the direction of industrial peace. During the last weeks of the year a concerted effort of enlightened employers under the leadership of Sir Josiah Stamp and Sir Alfred Mond have made advances to the trades unions looking towards closer coöperation—a move which was well received by the trades union leaders, and a Conference of Industrial Coöperation has been held between the industrial leaders in the hope of industrial peace. The Blackpool conference of the Labor party insisted that their aims were not subversive, as they were not seeking to change the existing social order except through the ballot box. Perhaps the most surprising thing about the British trade unions is their ability to keep going despite the severe economic depression of the last half dozen years. In recent months the membership has only dropped from five and one-half millions to five and one-fifth millions, and this in face of the fact that they have lost 125,000 in the mining industry alone. This suggests a tremendous stability among the laboring group and the possibility of a considerable increase in membership, if industrial conditions should materially improve in the next few months.

Without a doubt, the most discouraging feature of the economic situation in Great Britain since 1920 has been the existence of widespread unemployment, for it has meant the wastage of good human material, since a considerable percentage of the permanently unemployed have become unemployable. The ministry has struggled with the problem, but with little apparent success. Mr. Winston Churchill has insisted that 900,000 more were working than three years ago, but that for

various reasons Great Britain had 750,000 more people in the working classes than before the war. The stubborn fact of serious unemployment still exists, despite the premier's recent disclaimer. Great Britain contains more than a million people permanently out of work, most of whom are publicly supported in part by the dole, which, starting as a temporary expedient, is threatening to become a permanent policy.

The General Strike, followed by the long-drawn out coal strike, helped call attention to some obvious evils of the dole. Some sort of reform in the existing system was imperative. This was particularly so in lieu of the fact that the third section of the Old Age Contributory Pensions Act became effective at the beginning of 1928, by which some 450,000 persons over 65 are entitled to draw a pension of 10 shillings a week, irrespective of any income they may receive from other sources. The Blanesborough Committee, which had been working on the problem of the dole, eventually made a much criticized but unanimous report, upon the basis of which the government introduced a bill changing somewhat the prevailing system. It sought to reduce the weekly payment to the unemployed without dependents; to increase that of mothers and those with dependents; to create a new class of beneficiaries from 18 to 21 years of age who were to pay less and receive less; to reduce the allowances for boys and girls under eighteen approximately half; finally, to require applicants after a time to accept employment at other than their former trades.

The bill encountered the strenuous opposition of the Laborites, who called attention to the fact that such legislation would do nothing for 200,000 idle miners. They also claimed that the report of the Blanesborough Committee was too optimistic in assuming that the figures for unemployment were around 700,000, when it was a matter of record that the figure was nearly a million and a quarter. Some opposed the report because it suggested that the government should contribute more while the employer and employee should contribute less. Lady Astor felt called upon to remonstrate about the employment policy in so far as it applied to young persons.

She maintained that there were at all times some 50,000 boys and girls, mainly between 16 and 18, on the employment exchange, the number of whom was being increased by those finishing school at 14. During the progress of the bill in Parliament, the *Spectator* suggested that a separate category should be made for the unemployable. As the bill reached its final stages it was necessary to invoke the "guillotine" to overcome the hostility of the Laborites. The measure, however, should mark a slight step in advance in dealing with the perplexing problem of poor relief for the unemployed.

To add to the difficulties of the poor law authorities, the past winter has been very inclement. Severe cold and an unusually heavy snowfall ushered in the Christmas holidays. The melting snows, heavy rainfall and high tides brought on by a great tidal wave, caused the Thames to overflow around London, rising perhaps to the greatest height in the memory of the present generation. It brought some loss of life and great loss of property, accompanied by much suffering among the people of the slum areas along its banks. Some progress has been made in providing adequate housing facilities. With considerable eclat, the ministry announced the completion of the millionth house since the beginning of the policy of government subsidies. In the later months of the year, the completion of some of these houses was in reality a race against time, as the subsidy was shortly to be reduced. The problem, however, is by no means solved, as a large percentage of people in Great Britain are still compelled to live in houses below the minimum demanded by the Ministry of Health.

Agriculture shows no improvement, but rather continues to decline, although an increasing concern for the plight of agriculture is developing, and a demand for increased co-operation among the agriculturists themselves in order to limit the excessive profits of the middleman. Meanwhile, both Liberals and Laborites, taking their lead from Mr. Lloyd George, are demanding extensive land reforms. Some phases of commerce and industry are improving, but the steel, textile, and

coal industries show, in general, little improvement. The first of these was insistent upon increased protection and the cotton trade is demanding a 12½% reduction in wages and a fifty-two hour week, while the coal trade is still very hard hit. Here the inauguration of the eight-hour day has brought overproduction, which has resulted in unemployment for nearly a quarter of a million workers. The condition is accentuated by the French proposal to keep British coal out of West and Southwest France by new customs and preferential railroad rates on coal from French fields. The general depression of this industry has occasioned bitter reflections upon the government by the Laborites, who cannot forget the equivocal attitude of the ministry during the coal strike, and some high class business men have demanded a thorough reorganization of the coal industry.

The ministry has appeared equally reluctant to deal with the problem of education and Lord Eustace Percy has increased his already great unpopularity by his opposition to raising the age for compulsory school attendance, on the grounds of economy. In an equal degree the government has shown an unwillingness to grapple with the liquor trade which is so efficiently draining the purses of the lower orders, although the movement for more effective local and central control appears to be gaining ground among thoughtful people.

For some years independent newspapers have been rapidly decreasing in Great Britain, especially in London. Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook control the bulk of London's popular newspapers. Late in the year 1927 the ultra respectable but independent *Daily Telegraph* was acquired by the Berry syndicate, which now vies with Beaverbrook and Rothermere in the realm of popular journalism. More recently, the two Liberal evening organs—*The Daily News* and the *Westminster Gazette*—have been amalgamated. At length we learn that the Rothermere syndicate is planning to contest with the Berry syndicate for the evening newspaper field in the provinces.

For twenty years the authorities of the Church of Eng-

land have been engaged in a revision of the Prayer Book, which has undergone little change since 1662. Their aim has been to make the service more comprehensive; in other words, more acceptable to the Dissenters on the one side, and the Anglo-Catholics on the other. The matter was widely discussed in the press, and the assent of Parliament to the revised (or deposited) Prayer Book was generally taken for granted. In Convocation only four bishops voted against it and thirty-four for it; in the House of Clergy two hundred and thirty-five voted yea and thirty-seven nay; the House of Laity stood two hundred and thirty for, to ninety-two against; in the thirty-two diocesan conferences more than eighty per cent favored the Prayer Book. It is true that over three hundred thousand churchmen and churchwomen petitioned against the deposited Prayer Book and one thousand four hundred Anglo-Catholic clergy threatened to secede if their customs were interfered with. Nevertheless, the House of Lords favored it, two hundred and forty-one to eighty-eight, and few perhaps anticipated the action of the House of Commons which defeated it two hundred and thirty-eight to two hundred and five, thanks largely to the efforts of the Dissenters from Scotland, Wales, and North Ireland who objected to the latitude granted to Anglo-Catholics in the performance of the Eucharist—and particularly to perpetual "reservation" as smacking too loudly of popery. The faithful work of a score of years appeared wasted and the aged Archbishop of Canterbury was led from Parliament in tears. In the ensuing weeks the ecclesiastical authorities sought by a careful re-consideration of the matter among themselves to pave the way for the acceptance of the book by the Commons, which again rejected the proposed changes.

#### IV

At the close of 1926, a report based upon a study of the imperial problem was issued, suggesting a reorganization of the British Empire by which Great Britain appeared as of little more consequence than any other member of this Commonwealth of Nations, for neither Great Britain nor the Dominions could be committed to the acceptance of active obligations

except with the definite assent of their own governments. This document has been applauded by some as the Magna Carta of British Imperialism, while by others it was accepted as little more than a "formal acknowledgment of the equality of status of the Dominions with the United Kingdom under the Crown." This report on imperial organization suggested that the governor-generals of the Dominions should be representative of the Crown, rather than of the British Parliament. The prime minister of Canada, on leaving for the Imperial Conference of 1927, stated that he went with power only to report back to his own government, but not to act.

Canada and Ireland have both sent their own ambassadors to the United States. One obvious sign of health in the Empire was the settlement by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the conflicting claims of Canada and Newfoundland to Labrador, whereby an area larger than the whole of Great Britain was granted Newfoundland, as both Canada and Newfoundland had agreed to appeal the case to the Privy Council. India is having a spiritual and intellectual Renaissance and the rising spirit of nationalism has increased the restlessness of the political leaders under the dyarchy. This occasioned so much concern that late in 1926 a non-partisan statutory commission of Britishers headed by Sir John Simon was constituted to inquire into the functioning of the present government, a commission which the Indian leaders agreed to boycott because it contains no Indian representatives. Simon's arrival in India threatened for a few days to create a crisis, but apparently the Hindu-Moslem feud is too bitter to permit coöperation against England.

In the Union of South Africa the question of a state flag aroused considerable resentment on account of the conflicting desires of the Boers and British colonists, which was fortunately settled by a most happy spirit of compromise on both sides, Generals Smuts and Hertzog playing the rôle of conciliators-extraordinary. Ireland is gradually accommodating herself to the difficult art of self-government, despite the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins and the reëntry of Eamon

de Valera into active political life. During the year the capital of Australia was removed to Canberra, a federal area between Victoria and New South Wales. The status of Egypt continues ambiguous and the friction has rapidly increased since the death of the aged Zaghlul Pasha.

## V

Great Britain has no notable accomplishment to her credit during the last year in the realms of diplomacy. Relations with Russia had been most trying in 1926, but they became even worse on account of the secret machinations of the Russian Communist agents in Great Britain and China. Much as the Conservatives disliked the continuance of diplomatic relations with the Soviet, they were not blind to the fact that Russia was a most desirable customer, furnishing the British with food and raw materials in return for steel and textiles. In March, Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Secretary, in order, perhaps, to throw a sop to his Die Hard supporters, served warning on the Russian authorities which simply afforded the Soviet an opportunity for recriminations. Shortly after this, the Northern Government in China raided the Soviet headquarters in Pekin and found documents indicating not only Soviet intrigues against the Northern Government, but also the spread of poisonous propaganda against British activities in China.

In May, the British Home Secretary decided to raid the establishment of Arcos, Ltd. (a Russian trading corporation which occupied the same building as the Russian Trade Delegation), in the hope of finding a secret document which had been stolen from the government archives. The police failed to discover the document, but they found that the most intimate connections existed between Arcos, Ltd. and the Russian Trade Delegation. They opened up secret passages, found many interesting documents, and came upon the Russians busily engaged in burning others.

The ministry insisted upon a diplomatic breach with Russia, but the Laborites opposed the step until a Select Committee might have time to report upon the documents seized. Despite

the protests of the Russian authorities, Mr. Baldwin served notice that he was going to terminate the trade agreement with the Soviet. This also summarily ended the plans of the Midland Bank to advance £10,000,000 for the financing of Russian economic projects. The year closed with an accumulation of ill-will between the two governments and the accentuation of economic difficulties in Great Britain as a result of losing valuable Russian markets.

British relations with China have recently been fully as trying as those with Russia. In December, 1926, the British government issued a memorandum to the powers who had signed the Washington agreement of 1921, calling for the addition of a more enlightened and liberal policy towards the new Nationalist movement in China (Kuomintang), which should be met "with sympathy and understanding." This memorandum, moreover, contained an "annexe," showing that as far back as May 28, the English had protested to the United States against a proposal to extend foreign control of China's customs revenues.

The most perplexing part of the Chinese problem lay in the fact that in North and South China existed two governments of such equal strength that it was impossible to foresee which would ultimately prevail. Throughout the year, indeed, the fortunes of war rested now upon the banners of the one, and then upon those of the other, with the strategic points being Shanghai and Hankow. The growing antagonism to foreigners occasioned considerable uneasiness among the Great Powers, particularly England and Japan, as the Chinese mobs ran riot in Hankow, Nanking, Shanghai, and other places. Early in the year, the British ministry felt it necessary to dispatch a battalion of twenty thousand troops to protect British interests at Shanghai. Due to mob outrages at Nanking, Great Britain, Japan, and the United States agreed to dispatch identical, but not joint notes, protesting against them. Some of the Die Hard Tory contingent felt that Great Britain should attempt to coerce China, but more moderate councils prevailed. Although the sending of the troops to Shanghai

seemed to have a steadyng effect, the fortunes of the Northern and Southern armies fluctuated too much for the comfort of British interests; more especially as the periods of military activity are frequently broken by periods of negotiation. Towards the close of the year the Communistic faction of Kuomintang gained control of Canton but after a few days rioting they were expelled by the more moderate elements, much to the relief of all Europeans in Southern China. Very recently the Pekin government seems to have collapsed.

Closely connected with British relations in China is the status of Anglo-Japanese affairs. Japan has never been very cordial towards Great Britain since the latter, in order to gain the support of the United States, abrogated the Anglo-Japanese treaty at the time of the Washington Naval Conference. Since America's attitude at times has been somewhat ambiguous, it is obvious that the British have missed the steadyng influence of Japan in Russia and China, although her activities in the Far East have not been unfriendly to Great Britain during the past year.

Anglo-American friendship was fittingly ushered in for the year 1927 by an open letter in which William Randolph Hearst, proprietor of a strong syndicate of ultra-popular newspapers, sent instructions to his editors at New Year, frankly urging the formation of an Anglo-American alliance of a "non-official" character, because he considered the League of Nations a phantom without substance. Mr. Hearst's attitude towards England in the past has been decidedly hostile, so that his change of front augurs well for the continuance of friendship between Great Britain and the United States, despite such interchange of compliments as occurred between the astute American Secretary of the Treasury and the dynamic British Chancellor of the Exchequer.

During the year, President Calvin Coolidge, who was being sorely beset by the advocates of a bigger and better navy, invited Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to a conference at Geneva to discuss the further limitation of naval armament. France promptly refused on the ground that the

move might be held to reflect upon the League of Nations; Italy declined to participate for geographical reasons; Japan accepted; and Great Britain agreed to secure the opinion of her Dominions. Their decision appeared favorable, because Great Britain accepted the invitation of Mr. Coolidge. With the beginning of the conference, it was evident that the British and American representatives had different points of view. Great Britain insisted upon having a sufficient force of small cruisers to police her widespread empire. The United States wished to increase her ten thousand ton cruiser class and use the total tonnage as the basis of limitation. While the English and American representatives sought to iron out their differences, the press, particularly the American newspapers, made much of the differences until it appeared almost as though the delegates sought to advertise their dissensions.

The conference dragged wearily on, and finally was wrecked on the question of "mathematical parity." The United States seems to have been badly served by its representatives, and the leading British spokesman, Lord Cecil, was poorly supported by the British ministry. Soon after the failure of the conference, Lord Cecil resigned to devote himself to the program of disarmament. The collapse of the move for disarmament has aroused much resentment in England and America. In addition to Lord Cecil, such well known figures as Mr. Lloyd George, Field Marshall Sir William Robertson and Professor Philip Noel Baker have criticized the failure of the ministry to work more definitely for disarmament and world peace. Mr. Churchill's attitude, in particular, has been severely criticized. Many of the more important newspapers have taken up the campaign, notably the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily News*, the *Sunday Pictorial*, the *Evening Standard*, and the *Manchester Guardian*. The *Times*, in a leading article, and even the British Foreign Secretary, have felt called upon to insist that an Anglo-American conflict was "unthinkable." But is it? Our press has not been so pacific. Moreover, we have our Thompsons and Plunketts.

English public opinion was in general definitely and de-

cidedly hostile to engaging in a campaign of competitive building with the United States. This feeling was accentuated by the activity of the American authorities in laying down a five year program for twenty-five cruisers of ten thousand tons, thirty-two submarines, and five air craft carriers to cost about a billion dollars. Mr. Coolidge in his annual message, although praising Japan's spirit of compromise, tried to reassure the English by saying that the United States must in any case have built several warships, but that the failure of the Geneva conference will not cause her to build more or less than before. Meanwhile, the British Admiralty, apparently sensing at last the seriousness of the situation, has served notice that of the three cruisers of eight thousand tons already authorized, it will lay down only one at the present time. The rank and file of Englishmen are distinctly alarmed by the hasty, ill-advised chauvinistic statements of Mr. Wilbur, Secretary of the Navy, and Rear-Admiral Charles P. Plunkett.

During the closing weeks of 1927, the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference met at Geneva, with representatives from the United States and Russia present. Litvinoff, the Russian representative, at the outset, suggested "immediate, universal and absolute disarmament." The French representative, M. Paul-Bancour, immediately countered by saying that "security must precede any such drastic measure of disarmament." And so the matter rests as the second half of the year 1928 gets under way. The more pacific elements in Great Britain and America are now making their influence felt. Appropriations for the American navy have been greatly reduced and the eager acceptance by Great Britain of Secretary Kellogg's proposal for world peace augurs well for amicable Anglo-American relations in the future.

## THE SOCIAL IDEALISM OF EURIPIDES

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WHEN Euripides, Socrates' contemporary and kindred spirit, wrote his plays, most of the thinkers of Greece had turned their attention to problems of the human mind by criticizing the very foundations of the popular beliefs and by attacking conventional morality and politics because of their very conventionality. A strong flavor of this "radicalism" is traceable in the rationalistic and iconoclasm of Euripides. His skepticism shocked the tender susceptibilities of those contemporaries who had not yet grasped the trend of change in popular sentiment and ideals. Euripides, like Renan, was a prince of inconsistencies, but the destructive elements in his mind were modified and counterbalanced by a wide tolerance. Allowing himself to become attached to no system, he showed keen interest in every type of philosophic or social problem; and his more than compassionate nature, supported by a wide and varied knowledge of human beings, bestowed its tender sympathy upon every kind of unfortunate, whether cripple, beggar, slave, or woman. Indeed, man was to him the measure of all things, and his humanism appeals not only to a definite age or people, but to all ages and all peoples. His dramas contain messages to mankind and are full of oracular utterances, moral, spiritual, intellectual, and political in their import.

Though free from all aristocratic connections, Euripides was given a thorough education in literature, studied the philosophers and the sophists, and showed his intellectual proclivities in many ways. Holding aloof from public life, he chose to live the retired life of a student, to devote his whole energy to the composition of plays, and to cultivate no companionship so sedulously as that of the volumes of the famous library at Athens. His versatility had wide scope in the study of art, a discipline which sharpened his appreciation of landscape and refined his artistic sensibilities to a point of delicacy of feeling characteristic only of the master artist.

The originality of his mind took another turn when he dispensed with the art of his predecessors and built his dramas according to principles relatively modern. Incidentally they constitute invaluable sources of information on many of the customs and modes of thinking prevalent in Greece at her most glorious period.

As a natural corollary to his literary and philosophic genius there may be observed in his career a complete aloofness from the political life of the time. Like Socrates, Plato, Isocrates, and others who had followed the example of Anaxagoras by withdrawing from public life, Euripides failed to exemplify the Greek idea that every citizen should be a politician. During the Peloponnesian War, when Athens was a prey to civil strife, and when selfish interests were an important factor in the motives of her leaders, it was little wonder that a man like Euripides, to whom leisure was the dearest of delights, and whose natural bent was toward thought and study rather than action, should have preferred to ignore politics. His lack of interest in contemporary political affairs was due, not to a depreciation of contemporary politics but to a belief in his own mission as superior to civic achievement. Firmly persuaded that a life of quiet retirement was alone suitable for the good and the wise, and that such an ideal life connoted unceasing endeavor towards the spiritual elevation of self, he required the leisure necessary for its pursuit; and to everything inimical to this he set himself in opposition. War, which entailed grossness and materialism, he particularly opposed. When the Peloponnesian War was raging, most of the intellectuals, as well as the landed aristocracy and small farmer class, favored an end of the conflict. But Euripides, in the spirit of a man who loved peace and the cultivation of wisdom, harmony, music, love, passionately yearned for public order and security. In this mood he sang of "a land unravaged, peace-enfolden," where a happy race quaffed of wisdom's glorious wine, where "Harmonia reigned supreme."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Medea*, 86 ff and 420 ff. Cf. *Orestes*, 918 ff., *Suppl.* 420 ff.

At this point, however, it is interesting to note a slight contradiction in his attitude. In the same breath with which he lauded the benefits of solitude for intellectual purposes, he sang the benisons of those who pursue a contrary mode of life. It is intimated that they perform the noblest duties of a citizen who put aside their personal desires and turn from the Muses' joys and an easy life of culture, to become valiant warriors, inured to hardness, rejoicing in the steed and in the taunt. These are they who give to their land the best that may be given. Perhaps he considered himself an exceptional case, and saw his greater possibilities in the intellectual service to his fellows, whereas his countrymen, less gifted in letters, could yield their country greatest return in a life of external activity.

At any rate, Euripides was by no means indifferent to public interests. On the contrary, he showed himself alert on questions of social reconstruction by freely considering all matters of social or political import that concerned his contemporaries. He dwells upon the relations of city states to one another, talks of the rival advantages of a life devoted to the common weal and a life of retirement, inveighs bitterly against demagogues, whom he considered to be the bane of society, and gives his opinion on different forms of government, social institutions, and other vital questions of his day, and—we may add—of ours.

It is to be suspected that many of his views are colored by patriotic fervor, and that like most of the Greeks of his day, his love of country was unilateral. While imbued with the noble patriotism that is sincere love of one's native land externalized in constructive action, he evinced, nevertheless, a narrow nationalism that vaunted itself in the arrogance of a personal egotism. This at times so possessed him that it became one of the dominating features of his consciousness. Representing a state of mind to which all other loyalties, great and small, inevitably gave way, his sense of nationalism—if we wish to use the modern word—tended at times to complacency, vanity, and self-assertion. In some ways it made his

city state an object of undiscriminating worship to him by inculcating a zeal which blinded him to the good in other countries, and which, moreover, sometimes impelled him to intolerance and aggression—an attitude fatal and dangerous and unlike that of the idealist who opposed anything akin to sectarian bigotry. Indeed, his strong love of country developed within him a faith in the destiny of Athens that was both emotional and inspirational and that aroused feelings within his breast that were distinctly religious.

Praise of Athens became a commonplace to him and a subject not only of pride and affection but of that type of reverence which considered it a glorious thing to die when the glory of Greece was at stake. His sentiment here is analogous to a religious embodiment in which Athens, like the medieval church, became a tender mother worshipped by adoring sons. Deeply conscious of his proud position in being an Athenian citizen, he lauded her for her piety and justice, for the very freedom she exhaled, and for her championship of the weak. Under her guidance man's laws cease to be "a polluted thing . . . injustice beneath her yoke shall bend . . . and through all the lands her champion hands to the helpless shall deliverance send."<sup>2</sup>

From this point of view he considered the Greeks superior to all other peoples. His invectives against the Persians, in particular, are most pointed; but in this we pardon him, since, at the time of his childhood (481-470), the Persian hordes were trying to convert Greece into a colony of an Asiatic Empire. It may be that by way of contrast he saw Greek justice and law stand out high in perspective against the "barbarians," with whom "might" became "right." The sentence, "The Greeks should rule the barbarians, for they are slaves and the Greeks are free," gives the impression that he would have liked to reverse the situation. He saw the individuality which enabled the Greeks to "live by law without respect of 'force,'" contrasted with oriental despotism. We do not know whether or not he had any scientific evidence for all his

<sup>2</sup> Mahafy, *Euripides*, p. 37. *Orestes* 1682, *Bacch.* 420.

accusations against barbarian lawlessness and outrage. His statement: "Father with daughter, son with mother weds, sister with brother; kin the nearest wade through blood: their laws forbid no whit thereof", shows that his reproofs were pointed and pungent.<sup>3</sup>

Sometimes, however, we wonder if Euripides is awake or caught napping. Though we praise his national pride and affection, he has at times lost those characteristics which make for objective discernment of truth and enable one to look at one's own country through glasses of unflinching criticism, to see the mingling elements of both good and evil inherent in all things mortal. The fact that Athens was to him an infallible goddess incapable of wrong seems anomalous; and, to a man who understood human nature as Euripides seems to have done, this is more or less unpardonable. His statement that "all men are constrained to love their Fatherland" is too general, since all men do not see alike, and his perpetual repetition of the thought that nothing is more wretched than exile which indefatigably brings evils in its train; that banishment is a bitter life, full of woes; and that only in one's native land, the dearest thing of earth, can a person live a life of happiness and joy,<sup>4</sup> show a narrow horizon in direct contrast to the cosmopolitan view of Isocrates whose sense of value rested on individuals of culture and achievement, regardless of geographical enclosures.

Greek social and political institutions simply appealed to his particular type of intelligence, while those of the outside did not. In government, for instance, the Greek ideal of democracy was his ideal, while the Hellenistic antipathy towards despotism or tyranny in any form met his most scathing criticism.

Euripides regarded tyranny as the most wretched of all things. How terrible are princes' moods! They are accustomed to absolute and blind obedience, unschooled to obey, unforgiving, implacable in their feuds—the ordinary life is preferable. Why overmuch, therefore, do people prize sov-

<sup>3</sup> *Iph. Aul.* 1400-1401. *Hel.* 276, *Heracleid.* 423, *Medea* 536, *Adr.* 173.

<sup>4</sup> *Alc.* 167-169, *Phoen.* 358-359, cf. *Frg.* 6, 817; *Medea* 35, *Tro.* 375.

ereignty, which is injustice throned, and count it some great thing? Is worship precious? No, it is vanity and superstition. The tyrant lives a life of alarm: he hates the good, and makes friends of the devil. He is in constant fear of death. It is better to live happily obscure than be an exalted prince, one who joys to have for friends the vile, who hates the good, and ever dreads to die.<sup>5</sup>

A state has no greater enemy than a tyrant, who acts not by law but by caprice. A despot does not recognize the sovereignty of the law; under him there are no common laws, for he keeps law in his private hands. Equality does not exist. But when laws are written, then the weak and wealthy alike have equal rights, so that even the weaker, if reviled, may fling back scoff against the prosperous. Armed with law, the minority may overcome the majority.<sup>6</sup> If a man desires to give good council to the people concerning their country, that is well. If, on the contrary, he prefers to remain silent rather than to give advice, he may do so. This is equality where each follows his own inclinations. When the people govern the land, the young native champions are given a chance to come to the front. When, on the contrary, a king rules, he discerns those who have wisdom and ability, and slays them, fearing that they may shake his throne. How can a state be established, then, in strength where just as the scythe sweeps over the springtime mead, the king "lops the brave young hearts, like flower-blooms?" Of what avail, then, to work and make a fortune for sons, when one's toil is simply adding more to the despot's possessions?<sup>7</sup> But if the tyrant is a good man, even the tyranny may be good.<sup>8</sup>

— In his treatment of the people, Euripides becomes very skeptical. He sees that the people may be led astray by passion, that the rabble is a baneful thing.<sup>9</sup> Its moods change readily, and it is quick to anger, but it is also magnanimous and compassionate. The first rush of a people's rage is like a

<sup>5</sup> *Ion* 621-628; cf. *Frg.* 605, *Auge*, frg. 275.

<sup>6</sup> The formula for the opening of the popular assembly.

<sup>7</sup> *Suppl.* 429-432, *frg.* 275, *Hipp.* 1013-1020, *Tro.* 1170, *Phoen.* 506.

<sup>8</sup> *Frg.* 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Iph. Aul.* 1357.

ravenging fire. But if one will maintain forbearance and wait patiently, their storm will spend its force. Then, when their anger has passed, you may lightly win your will of them. In them is truth; high spirit, too, is there. All you have to do is wait.<sup>10</sup>

The people are often wiser than they who sit in office: "In proud authority's pomp men sit, and scorn the city's common folk, though they be naught. Yet are those others wiser a thousandfold, had wisdom but audacity for ally."<sup>11</sup> It is foolish to seek to hold the people in check.<sup>12</sup> Yet they must not have unlimited power, nor must one stand too much in fear of the mob.<sup>13</sup> The better should rule the worse. Whether the majority will act wisely, or the reverse, depends on the character of their leaders. Euripides has no hatred for the people, but he sees that they need to be well led.<sup>14</sup>

Of no class has Euripides more bitter things to say than of the demagogues, the men who lead the people astray. It is they who ruin towns as well as the homes of men. They speak words that are sweet to the ear, but their intention is to deceive. The demagogue who catches the popular ear is of no account among wise men. He is a thankless spawn, who grasps at honor by babbling to the mob.<sup>15</sup>

Elaborate is the attack made by the Theban herald on democracies under the sway of demagogues: "The city whence I come by one man, not by any mob is swayed. There is one there who, slavering them with talk, this way and that, twists them for this gain, is popular now, and humors all their bent; now, laying on others, blame for mischief done, he cloaks his faults, slips through justice's net. How should the mob which reason all awry, have power to pilot straight, a nation's course? For time bestoweth better lessoning than haste. But you poor delver of the ground, how shrewd soe'er, by reason of his toil can nowise oversee the general weal. Real-ruining in the wise

<sup>10</sup> *Orestes* 696-703.

<sup>11</sup> *Adv.* 699-702.

<sup>12</sup> *Frg.* 92.

<sup>13</sup> *Iph. Aul.* 517.

<sup>14</sup> *Orestes* 772-773.

<sup>15</sup> Decharme, *Euripide, &c.*, p. 180; *Hipp.* 486-489; 988-989; *Hecuba* 254-260.

man's sight is this, when the vile tonguester getteth himself a name by wooing mobs, who heretofore was naught."<sup>16</sup>

Then, as always, and as in our own time, candidates for office were frequently humble and fawning. It is the moderates in politics as well as in wealth and position, who, in Euripides' opinion, are the salvation of the state.<sup>17</sup> Euripides distinguished three classes of people. The highest are the useless rich, always craving more. The second class is the farmers, who are shrewd, honest, and blameless in their lives. They are the ones who save states, and who keep the order that the state ordains. The lowest class, the poor, are on starvation's brink. They are dangerous, and are full of envy, for they shout out "baleful stings at prosperous folk." They are also easily beguiled by the tongues of evil men, who are their champions.<sup>18</sup>

To sum up Euripides' ideas of democracy: he maintains that democracy is the ideal form of government. Theseus, the ideal ruler in Euripides, is rather the President of the Democracy than an irresponsible king. But it is seen that the Demos is not free from faults—that, in fact, its character depends on its leaders. The tyrant, with his life of injustice, suspicion, terror, and cruelty, is continually regarded with deep hatred. It is only in a democracy that one finds justice, law, freedom, clemency. Laws are the safe-guard of a democracy, and a democracy is the safe-guard of laws. The greatest blessings to a democracy are temperance, moderation, orderliness, harmony, whereas its worst curse is the demagogue,—the charlatan, who with specious words, leads the people astray.<sup>19</sup>

This class is fiercely attacked by both Euripides and Aristophanes, and also by the Orators,—by none more fiercely than

<sup>16</sup> *Suppl.* 409-425, *Hecuba* 254-257, 1187 ff, *Bacch.* 270-271, *Suppl.* 232-237, 412-416, 420-422, *Orestes* 902-908, 917-922, *Hipp.* 989.

<sup>17</sup> *Orestes* 902-911; cf. *Bacch.* 270-271. *Iph. Aul.* 526, 337-345.

<sup>18</sup> *Orestes* 915; cf. also the noble character of the peasant in the *Electra* who is a noble soul (252) and who speaks the prologue, though he is only secondary person in the play. Cf. also 367-382. The rule of the middle class is upheld in *Orestes* 917-922, *Suppl.* 399-456, *Phoen.* 535-551 cited by Dummeier, *Proleg. zu Platons Staat* (1891), to show that there are traces of a political treatise of the school of Antiphon in Euripides.

<sup>19</sup> *Andr.* 445-463, 595-601, 724-726; *Bergk. Poet. Lyr. Graec.* p. 591; Schenkl, *Gymnasien*, 1862, pp. 357 ff).

by Demosthenes. Their only motive is self-aggrandisement. They are cheats and imposters, ravens, serpents, monsters, who seek to enslave the people. They pander to the popular ear, and are, therefore, the most outstanding thing of which a democracy must beware.

Euripides' ideal justice is found in a perfect State. But the State cannot achieve perfection unless the individual is made perfect. Conversely, no one in it attains to fulness of life except through the larger life shared with others. In *Hecuba* he speaks of Perfect Justice as something shared by both community and individual. Evil should come to the evil, and good to the good. This should hold true for each man separately, and for the city too. His sense of justice is at conflict with the justice of his fellows, among whom there is no harmony, but instead protest, conflict, and rebellion. He presents Hecuba's character in its conflict with the inadequate justice or, rather, horrible injustice of men, which should rest on reasoned conclusions.<sup>20</sup>

Hecuba derives her strength from emotion, will, and impulse. Her belief in her right to exist is justified more by instinct than by anything else. A man will have no quarrel with society until society threatens him. But society threatened her. There was a conflict of ideas, for her revolt against the injustice of men brought her into disfavor with society, and was consummated in the murder of her child. Because revolt against society is rare, it appears unnatural and horrible.<sup>21</sup>

Euripides' conception of human justice also involves religious observance and veneration, punctiliousness, respect for property, and altruism, since it is directed toward the good of mankind. It also involves equality. Injustice, on the other hand, is seen in the tyrant's rule, in the actions of the over-ambitious, and in the greed of those who do not grant every man his share.<sup>22</sup>

Theseus, when disputing political theory with the Theban

<sup>20</sup> *Hecuba* 902-904; 444-483, 629-655 and 905-952.

<sup>21</sup> *Hecuba* 69-70, 430, 85-86, 710-711. For a similar example see my article on "Ibsen's Political and Social Ideas", *American Political Science Review*, Feb. 1925.

<sup>22</sup> *Heracl.* 901-903, cf. *Frg.* 1062-3, 92, *Frg.* 356.

herald for the glorification of Athens, and condemning tyranny, commends written law, whereby rich and poor, strong and weak, have equal hearing and equal redress. This is justice.<sup>23</sup> But though there is neither adequate definition, nor analytic discussion of justice, such as we find in Plato and Aristotle, indirectly there is evidence of ideals that are as thoughtful and far-reaching.

Occasional characters cry out that rapacious and ruthless power is successful, whereas the gods should be just. Yet the conviction is strong that "nobody who fought unjustly, came back safe." Furthermore, if battle is to decide which side is right, then strife will never depart from the cities of mankind. It is entirely due to the evil of man that this is so. For "the gods' deeds are just, but among wicked men they sicken and fall into confusion." The hidden world works for justice, for equality among men, and for requittal of good and evil. Kingship and tyranny must vanish, and a perfect equality must arise among men.<sup>24</sup>

In his treatment of the gods Euripides is both iconoclastic and religious. With the Sophists he rejected a great deal in traditional religion. Many supernatural powers, transmitted by tradition, are fictions of the imagination. The furies that goaded Crestes are illusions. Many of the gods are cruel and immoral. If they do evil, they are not gods. The immoral gods of the old mythology are fiction. Gods should be worthy of the new moral dignity. They should, moreover, be spiritual gods.<sup>25</sup> Openly to avow oneself an advocate of atheism meant immediate prosecution. Yet Critias wrote:

When the laws restrained them, then, methinks, some man, adroit and wise, conceived the notion to devise gods for mankind, that there might be awe for the bad, even if secretly they should perform or say or think (some evil). Thence did he introduce divinity. . . . Then, even if in silence thou some evil plannst, this will not escape the gods.<sup>26</sup>

Euripides did not go so far. Yet he made some of his characters the mouthpiece of various doubts. He thus, to some extent, helped undermine traditional religion. He placed

<sup>23</sup> *Heracl.* 1-9, *Phoen.* 528-567, 429-455.

<sup>24</sup> *Frgs.* 288, 355, 1151-1157, 609.

<sup>25</sup> *Frg.* 266, *Troades*, 884 ff. tran. of A. S. Way.

<sup>26</sup> *Critias*, No. 113, *Sisyphus*, Nauck, *Frg.* p. 771 f.

responsibility for conduct, not on one of the gods, but upon the individual himself. His plays took up these and other advanced ideas, and by broad-casting them among his audiences, helped to popularize them.

Possessed of such sentiments, what would be his conception of woman? Since his sympathy always went out to the unfortunate, to the weak, to beggars and cripples, and to those who were not given a fair chance in life, naturally he has a great deal to say about women. Descending to their level in his sympathy for them, he expressed the yearnings of the Athenian women for ameliorated conditions and for a larger life.

The greatness of Athens in that day was the important consideration. Women were not warriors and therefore could not vote or take part in political discussion. Since their particular function was the production of soldiers and citizens, their influence outside the home was restrained. They were not permitted to walk about the city unless attended by one of the slaves. It is true that Athenian women of the upper classes were permitted to visit one another, to join in their own religious holidays, and to participate in the great festivals of the city. But such liberties were carefully regulated. They could not sit at the table, even in their own homes, when guests other than relatives were present. Their lives, in short, were cruelly restricted.

Most of the women met the demands upon them with resignation, and in all cases with splendid sacrifice of self. Doubtless Euripides had keen sympathy for the majority of them, who, confined as they were to the home, with no outlets and almost no social freedom, were thus victims of a stereotyped conventionality. The best example of this unhappy state may be seen in the *Alcestis*, which was presented on the stage in 438 B.C. In this play the wife of a coward volunteers to meet death to preserve that of her husband. To Euripides the heroine is the model woman. Her absolute devotion to what she considered her duty and her complete readiness for self-effacement, the Greeks took as a matter of course. Another example of exalted female sacrifice may be found in the *Iphi-*

*geneia of Aulis*, where the woman is enthusiastic for death. This conventional type of woman says that one man is worth more to Hellas than ten thousand women.<sup>27</sup>

All the women of Athens, however, were not of this nature. There were many who chafed under their restrictions. Some were rebellious. Others were discontented, loathing the artificialities forced upon them.

The perfect incarnation of discontent and of a quickened sense of false environment is represented in the person of Medea, a foreigner from Colchis on the eastern coast of the Black Sea. That Euripides realized the unfair position in which women were placed, that he recognized their point of view, and that he sympathized with women, may be inferred from the words he puts into the mouth of that fiery spirit:

[O]n me hath fallen this unforeseen disaster, and sapped my life; ruined am I, and long to resign the boon of existence, kind friend, and die. For he who was all the world to me, as well thou knowest, hath turned out the veriest villain, my own husband. Of all things that have life and sense the women are the most hapless creatures; first we must buy a husband at a most exorbitant price, and o'er ourselves a tyrant set which is an evil worse than the first; and herein lies a most important issue, whether our choice be good or bad. For divorce is discreditable to women, nor can we disown our lords." Further, "They say we live secure at home, while they are at the wars—with their sorry reasoning; for I would gladly take my stand in battle array three times o'er than once give birth.<sup>28</sup>

This militant character hurls defiance at her oppressors, and sings of a time when woman will no longer let man tyrannize:

Back turns the wave on the ever running river;

Life, life is changed and the laws of it o'er trod,

Man shall be the slave, the affrighted, the low-liver;

Man hath forgotten God.

And woman, yea woman, shall be terrible in story:

The tales, too, meseemeth, shall be other than of yore.

For fear there is that cometh out of woman and a glory

And the hard hating voices shall encompass her no more.

The old bards shall cease and their memory that lingers,  
Of frail brides and faithless, shall be shriveled as with fire.

<sup>27</sup> *Iph. Aul.* 1368 ff., 1394.

<sup>28</sup> *Medea* 204-226 (my own translation).

For they loved us not, nor knew us, and our lips were dumb, our fingers  
Could wake not the secret of the lyre.

Else, O God the singer, I had sung amid the rages,  
A long story of man and his deeds for good and ill.  
But the world knoweth—"Tis the speech of all the ages—  
Man's wrong and ours; he knoweth and is still.

It can readily be seen that Medea was made of sterner stuff than were most of the Hellenic women. There is no doubt that Euripides' aim was to make her a strong character, even a militant one—some would say masculine. At any rate, how many men could compete against the strength displayed by the words:

"Let none account me important or weak,  
Or Spiritless!—O nay, in other sort,  
Grim to my foes, and kindly to my friends,  
Most glorious is the life of such as I."<sup>29</sup>

It is interesting to note that Euripides was the first to make a psychological analysis of woman's character. He had the artistic courage to follow the dark ways of woman's passion, and to display her in a fashion worthy of the individualistic type of the philosopher he was—a quality recognized by Aristophanes, though professional jealousy kept him from admitting it. In doing this Euripides increased the dramatic effects by introducing into Hellenistic society barbarians like Medea and Hecuba, on whom Hellenistic conventions were not able to lay restraint. With these foreign characters he was permitted any liberties he might choose to take. He, therefore, presented his women as manifesting natures that are a compound of both good and bad, as possessing traits that were analogous to those of men. While justice and equality apply as much to women as to men, women have been unfairly criticized, good women and bad alike falling under a common censure. Men have talked and women have had no hearing. With equal opportunity they could recount as many evils about men. He saw that *both* men and women were scheming and unscrupulous, inordinately jealous, defective in their sense of honor and fair play, gossipy and meddle-

<sup>29</sup> *Medea*, 807-808.

some. Both sexes are good to their friends, but spiteful and malevolent to their enemies. In his recognition of woman's great capacity for evil as well as for good, he wrote that

There is no scourge dread as woman is;  
No painting could portray her hideousness  
Nor speech declare. If this thing by some God  
Was moulded, greatest fashioner of ills  
And most malevolent to man was he.<sup>30</sup>

Euripides also recognized that, as among men, so among women, there are individuals of high culture, capable of greater attainment, a point of view generally denied in his day as in ours, although then more women than men were writing literature and composing music. He did not look upon them as Plato, in the interest of formal theorizing, once seems to have done—that is, as men with child-bearing functions, able to do all that men could do, though hampered by a lack of strength. He, on the contrary, had a profound belief in their capacity, as may be seen from the words of one of his outstanding women characters:

Full oft ere this my soul hath scaled  
Lone heights of thought, empyreal steeps,  
Or plunged far down the darkling deeps,  
Where woman's feebler heart hath failed.

Yet wherefore failed? Should woman find  
No inspiration fill her breast,  
Nor welcome ever that sweet guest  
Of song, that uttereth Wisdom's mind?

Alas, not all! few, few are they—  
Perhaps amid a thousand one  
Thou shouldst find,—for whom the sun  
Of poesy makes an inner day.<sup>31</sup>

His position at this point, however, is somewhat contradictory, for though praising the intellectual woman, he declares a domestic wife to be the bulwark of a house, and a blessing to the fortunate man who weds her. When he wrote that women's virtues are womanly, their natural functions

<sup>30</sup> Euripides, *Fragment 1059 (Nauck)*.

<sup>31</sup> "Chorus of Corinthian Women," Euripides, *Medea*, 1081-89.

essentially domestic, he was speaking of the women in general of his day. They, he said, were not men disguised under another sex. People in general, he knew, were mediocre, and considering woman's limited opportunities in that day, this was more strikingly true of them.

It is a part of Euripides' belief in that equality which he identifies with justice, that women should have equal rights with men. They should have equality of speech. Moreover, divorce should become a mutual right, and unchastity as much an offense in the husband as in the wife. He recognized a single standard of morality for men, women, and gods:

Yet I must warn Phoebus of what is happening to him; he wrongs a maid and proves unfaithful to her, and after secretly becoming the parent of a son leaves him to die. O Phoebus, do not so, but as thou art supreme, follow in virtue's track; for whosoever of mortal men transgresses, him the Gods punish. How, then, can it be just that you should enact your laws for men, and yourselves incur the charge of breaking them? Now, I will put this case, though it will never happen. Wert thou, were Poseidon and Zeus, lord of Heaven, to make atonement to mankind for every act of lawless love, ye would empty your temples in paying fines for your misdeeds.<sup>32</sup>

Polygamy, being unequal, is unjust and unnatural. It is likened in the chorus of *Andromache* to a household with two wives, to a city with two rulers, a play by two authors, and a ship with two pilots.

Euripides considers children a great care. They who have had no children far surpass in happiness those who are parents. Those who have never been parents have never proved whether children grow to be a blessing or curse to men, and, therefore, are removed from all share in many troubles. Those who have children "wear away their whole life through." First, they are bothered by the thought of how they may train them in virtue. Next, they worry about how they are going to leave their sons the means to live. Finally, it is far from clear whether they bestow their toil and worry more on the bad children than on the good. The last crowning woe of parents is that after they have found sufficient means to live, and have seen their children grow to man's estate and walk in virtue's path, death comes and bears the

<sup>32</sup> *Ion*, 36 sq.

children's bodies off to Hades. Besides other woes, this further grief for children lost is a grief surpassing all.

Euripides' attitude toward strangers is sympathetic. Throughout Greek literature we find many references to the hard lot of alien residents. That Euripides recognized the uncomfortable conditions that confronted strangers is evident: "For there is no just discernment in the eyes of men, for they, or even they have learnt their neighbor's heart loathe him at first sight, though never wronged by him; and so a stranger most of all should adopt a city's views."<sup>33</sup>

The life that confronted a woman-stranger was even harder: "I am destitute, without a city and therefore scorned by my husband, a captive I from a foreign shore, with no mother, brother, or kinsman in whom to find a new haven of refuge from this calamity."<sup>34</sup> Under ordinary conditions, her father or brother would have aided her. For according to the Attic orators, who furnish many illustrations, the father or brother of a woman, whose husband abused her, furnished shelter and protection.

Euripides exalts the humble and low-born, protests against simple riches as a standard of nobility, and persistently reiterates that though rank and riches are by no means without effect, they are of no importance whatever in determining a man's true worth, and that poverty and slavery are no bar to real nobility.<sup>35</sup>

The question of slavery he pursues with deepest feeling. Disregarding it as a social wrong, and not questioning it as an economic necessity, he considers slavery to be only of the mind, not of the body.<sup>36</sup> Like Aristotle, he looks upon the institution as both natural and necessary, never going so far as to express the possibility of doing without it. While the evils and injustice of the institution never touch his logic or brain,

<sup>33</sup> *Medea* 204-266.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Iph. Aul.* 867, *Ion* 730 seq., *Frg.* 345 (Nauck), 514, *Electra* 550; *Suppl.* 238-239, *Her. Fur.* 511-512, 780; *Phoen.* 552-554, 597, *Electra* 37-38, 1131, 362-363, *Hecuba* 379-381, 592-598.

<sup>36</sup> *Ion* 854; *cf. Hel.* 728, *Alc.* 210-211, 813, 194, *Hecuba* 332-333, *cf. frg.* 217, 49, 48, 86, 245, 511, 831, *Electra* 632-633, *Medea* 54-55; *cf. Decharme, Euripide*, I, Preface, xiii-xiv, and note on *Andr.* 56.

they pierce his heart, and call forth the deepest emotions of pity and sorrow. In some instances he declares slaves the equals of their masters.<sup>37</sup> And, denouncing slavery as an unfortunate and hopeless institution, to which death itself is preferable, he describes it as "the order of nature and the evil of the unseen ordinance."<sup>38</sup>

To treat all the problems Euripides touched upon or attacked, or even to recount them, one must write a history of the Athenian culture of Euripides' age. With Euripides, new problems were always interesting; and for this reason he was continually looking for new material for his dramas. But whatever his material, he was thoroughly analytical, letting no conceptions, moral or otherwise, go by unexamined. He has the critical impulse that aroused the curiosity and enriched the Athens of the Sophistic period. His love for truth forced him to motivate everything in a thorough manner. And while striving to conceive the fulness of humanity by thinking and creating, he questioned and doubted many of the conditions of his age as well as many which lofty poetry up to then had timidly shunned.

<sup>37</sup> *Hel.* 728-731, *Ion* 854-856, *Frg.* 515.

<sup>38</sup> *Heracl.* 357-58, 211-215, *Ion* 725-734, *Alc.* 765-771, *Hel.* 1640, *Iph. Aul.* 303-316, *Medea* 84-86, *Andr.* 88; cf. Decharme, *Euripide, &c.*, pp. 162 ff.

## ACTIVITIES OF SOUTHERN WOMEN: 1840-1860

VIRGINIA GEARHART GRAY  
New Orleans

TO THE MAN of the street in the decades just preceding the Civil War, woman developed into as perplexing a problem as her daughter of today, the flapper. New and puzzling demands arose, such as never troubled the minds of past generations, because wives had never thought aloud concerning their rights. To the more pessimistic of the old school, the meeting of the group of northern women at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, and their Declaration of Rights must have seemed an unnatural attack upon a very comfortable system of home life. Women belonged beside the hearth, be they married or single. Only there, asserted American masculinity, were they able to lead lives of usefulness; and the approved departures from such circumstances must be cloaked by the mantles of religion or of dire necessity.

The southern man faced a less dismaying situation. His wife and daughters had not arrived at the audible stage, even if they were aware of their disadvantageous position. With that silence which seemed to characterize the southern woman in touching upon her activities, she left no direct evidence of favorable thoughts towards the new status of women. Condemnation alone was recorded. The most telling indications that northern sounds were not unheeded came in a highly indignant poem in *The Southern Literary Messenger*:

And this is progress!—Are these noisy tongues—  
In fierce contention—raised and angry war—  
Fit boast for womanhood?<sup>1</sup>

The years have left to the United States one of its most beautiful traditions in the form of the southern belle. Seen through the eyes of romantic fiction and saddened recollection, a glittering lady with billowing hoop-skirts made her curtsy graciously from the background of a golden age. She was the heroine who developed into the perfect mother. She

<sup>1</sup> L. S. M., "Woman's Progress," in *Southern Literary Messenger* (Nov., 1853), p. 700.

was the belle. Behind her hoop-skirts—which hostile opinion tried to tinge with indolence—many types of southern women, perhaps less gracious, have been hiding; and the glamor of her aristocratic charm has rendered hazy her own more practical characteristics. Undoubtedly the southern woman was not straining after her rights; yet whether she realized it or not, the wind was stirring in the magnolia trees. From the Kentucky belle who presented colors to her regiment to the Virginia woman who was arrested for selling liquor without a license, activity other than domestic affairs claimed a share of feminine attention. With the Census of 1860 significant employment statistics first were printed; and the innovation was not explained by improved methods in compiling the report. Growth was also evident in the employment lists of directories of many southern cities between 1840 and 1860. In spite of modest protestations of the period, the current which swung the modern southern woman into prominence had its ante-bellum beginnings.

Every young lady discovered certain conventional ways of using her leisure. Plantation management bequeathed little time to its mistress.<sup>2</sup> One must turn to the women of the stimulating urban communities to glimpse activities beyond the home. Here the small, elegant household did not absorb the lady's leisure; and increasing cost of living drove younger families into the hotel, in spite of criticism on the part of their elders.<sup>3</sup> The city and the town also formed the background for a class of poorer women with no counterpart in the poor whites of the country who supposed that manual labor placed them with the slave.

The retiring manner tended to retreat before the practical demands of life, if indeed it ever had existed, as the fashionable theorists insisted. Reserve was quite often the natural result of quiet plantation life. Maria McIntosh, the southern

<sup>2</sup> An excellent general picture of the duties of the plantation mistress is contained in the portraits drawn by: Emily Burke, *Reminiscences of Georgia* (N. P., MD CCCL). Caroline Gilman, *Recollections of a Southern Matron and a New England Bride* (Philadelphia, 1860). Caroline Merrick, *Old Times in Dixie* (New York, 1901).

<sup>3</sup> Frederika Bremer, *Homes of the New World* (2 Vols., New York, 1853), II. 226.

novelist, claimed that influence was not to be exerted by public debates, associations, and petitions, but in the old state of Virginia and the newer creation of Missouri women had no feminine hesitancy in petitioning for redress of grievances.<sup>4</sup> Whether for pensions or merely for aid, the more or less deserving claimed state aid. Women did not shrink from exposing their desires for the title to escheated property or for payment for slaves executed or transported by the government.<sup>5</sup> In 1841 and 1842 Sally Niles, widow of the famous Hezekiah, asked Virginia to purchase her husband's interest in the *Register*. Even divorce was brought for legislative review, although few cases appeared in South Carolina because of the unfavorable attitude of the government.

Perhaps one of the most typical expressions of the lady on the question of public appearances was declaimed in an introduction of an address upon the horrors of war:

To some it may appear strange that a lady should come forward in public, and address a mixed audience, and give her sentiments on a subject in which it cannot be supposed she has had any experience. Some, if not many, of my sex, may fancy that I am rather transgressing the boundaries of strict *female reservedness*, and that it is wrong for a lady to speak in a public assembly. Were I alone and unprotected, it would scarcely conform with that delicacy which a female ought always to cultivate and maintain, but when I do it in the presence of my liege lord to whom I am accountable for all my actions, and when it is on war a subject in which he has all his life been interested. . . .<sup>6</sup>

Society was not shocked when Octavio Le Vert took up the cause of Mount Vernon. This very charming woman of Mobile collected a thousand dollars in one day; and the project reminded her, she declared, of Italy's accomplishment in preserving Ariosto's home as a shrine. So noted was her refinement that the Governor of Alabama appointed her as commissioner from the state in 1855 to the Paris Exposition.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Maria McIntosh, *Woman in America, Her Work and Her Reward* (New York, MDCCCL), p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> Virginia Legislature, *Journal of the House of Delegates* (Richmond, 1840-1860); see petitions. The Journals of the states of Mississippi, Missouri, and South Carolina may also be consulted. The author has traced the various kinds of petitions for and by women in these volumes.

<sup>6</sup> Mrs. Myra Gaines, "The Horrors of War," in *The New Orleans Book* (New Orleans, 1851), p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> Virginia T. Peacock, *Famous Belles of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 116.

An example of the demurring but steady entrance of southern women into public affairs developed with the temperance movement. From its incipiency, Virginia men had opposed "the union of females in the pledge"; and the hot-headed threatened violence to any man who asked their wives to take the vow. The old arguments of the advocates of woman's modest participation in moral and elegant affairs finally prevailed. Because of their powerful influence in moulding the social customs of a country and because of their heavy suffering from the evils of intemperance, they gained in number until they equalled the male participants in the movement. Finally, a branch of the Daughters of Temperance was founded in Richmond, but it did not spread to the other parts of the state.<sup>8</sup> The crusade was not reflected to any large extent in literature written by southern women. The most striking effort for the cause was composed by Caroline Lee Hentz as a poetical address for the Tuscaloosa Fourth of July celebration. The Total Abstinence Society of Alabama was regaled with horrors of the moral python, intemperance, and were urged to cling to the merits of "water, cold water."<sup>9</sup>

Approved forms of feminine edification were tinged by religion. Many women found that exertion with a pious intent received the public smile. Preaching alone was excluded; Martha Moffett of Baltimore, so designated in 1859, indeed must have performed singular duties.<sup>10</sup>

About 1840 an epidemic of fairs broke out among the southern women whose activities were later rivaled by famous benefits in the northern cities during the Civil War. The New Orleans *Daily Picayune* spoke lightly but very favorably of one held to raise a "house over the homeless orphan." Ladies industriously plied their needles to provide many articles for "the fair," so that the immense crowds in the St. Louis ball room might view the belles dispensing fancy work for an admission of twenty-five cents. The corner-stone for

<sup>8</sup> Anonymous, "Temperance Reform in Virginia," in *Southern Literary Messenger* (July, 1850), p. 433.

<sup>9</sup> Caroline Lee Hentz, "An Address Delivered before the Total Abstinence Society of Alabama," in *Southern Literary Messenger* (Dec., 1843), pp. 1745-1746.

<sup>10</sup> John W. Woods, *Directory of Baltimore for 1858-1859* (Baltimore, 1859), p. 268.

the new house was laid amid flattering newspaper publicity. One grateful orphan even wrote a poem to the worthy ladies.<sup>11</sup> Not to be outdone by feminine New Orleans, Vicksburg women also held a benefit of the same nature to complete the Episcopal Church building. While results of the New Orleans venture and a similar one for the orphans of St. Louis remain unrecorded, the Baltimore ladies raised twenty-five hundred dollars for their orphans.<sup>12</sup>

As early as 1838 the indigent females of Richmond had aroused public interest, so that a joint stock company contributed a capital of five thousand dollars based on twenty-five dollar shares. The investment went for the humane purpose of purchasing materials for poor females to make into garments to be sold to the association, and so the treasury was to be replenished from the profits of future operations.<sup>13</sup> Julia Mayo Cabell published in 1858, *An Odd Volume of Facts and Fiction, in Prose and Verse*, to aid the establishment of a Richmond work-house. Even a soup kitchen serving as high as six hundred Baltimoreans daily, was founded by Mrs. Thomas Winans.<sup>14</sup> The directory of Baltimore revealed that such organizations as the Female Humane Impartial Society were practical attempts to aid less fortunate women. The establishment of homes and the work of the benevolent societies were early instances of philanthropy which assumed new forms in the social service work of a later generation of American womanhood.

Of all activities, feminine participation in politics was the most hotly debated. Woman's political recognition received publicity, but made little actual progress towards public approval. No southern lady retained the respect of her associates if she actively ventured upon so unfeminine an interest as politics.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, most of the travelers of the period insisted with Susan B. Anthony that no female participation

<sup>11</sup>New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Dec. 12-25, 1839.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1840.

<sup>13</sup>Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, March 2, 1838.

<sup>14</sup>J. T. Schaff, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 563.

<sup>15</sup>Maria Child, *History of the Condition of Women in Various Ages and Nations* (2 Vols., London, 1835), II. 265.

in politics existed.<sup>16</sup> Exclusion from the franchise combined with lack of property rights by married women was a serious handicap, but many southern women did not feel the vital necessity of changing their position. Maria McIntosh wrote: "There is political inequality ordained in Paradise, when God said to woman, 'He shall rule over thee' and which has existed ever since."<sup>17</sup> Men theoretically represented their family interests; and the most common argument for masculine dominance plead woman's influence over the judgment and the will of man through the heart.

Southern women did influence political activities, but their effectiveness has never been gauged with absolute accuracy. They accepted their situation, but they never lost interest in the circumstances of southern life. The record of their attention to public affairs is scattered in incidents of no great importance, but which, if grouped together, paint a different picture. Mrs. John Tyler's letters, though from a northern woman, portrayed what a southern president's wife knew and thought about politics. Speaking of a local defeat in which she was interested, Mrs. Tyler wrote: "The only thing to compensate for this disappointment will be the defeat of Clay. Was there ever an election like this? A sword by a hair seems suspended over each party."<sup>18</sup> To her sister Margaret, she referred to the appointment of a Mr. Guillet to a consulsipn, but she did not intend to give him such a choice one as Marseilles. After the retirement of the Tylers from the White House, political comment continued in her letters. From Polk's conduct to rumors of Buchanan's appointment to the Supreme Court, she turned to give her views upon the presidential aspirants. Believing that they all studied the best means to get the chair rather than the most righteous and patriotic methods, she concluded, "So I go this election, for men not principles, and prefer the person of Gen. Zack Taylor."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (2nd. Edt., 3 Vols., London, 1837), I. 291.

<sup>17</sup> McIntosh, *Woman in America*, p. 22.

<sup>18</sup> Mrs. John Tyler to her mother, Washington, August 19, 1844. The collection of Mrs. Tyler's letters is in the Library of Congress.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1844.

Mrs. Polk of Tennessee was the medium by which James Polk sent his political instructions to one of his followers, Major Graham. Further, she interviewed a political friend to see that the congressional campaign was in order. Writing from Campbell's Station to her, Polk expressed the wish that any factor be prepared which would influence his political success in 1841.<sup>20</sup>

In 1838 Kentucky gave the franchise to all widows with children of school age; and many indications other than idle flattery may have prompted the campaign orators and the newspapers to speak so graciously of the fair daughters in the same breath with the patriotic sons. No southern Fourth of July celebration was complete without its toasts to the fair. Sometimes women themselves sent in toasts to be proposed. In the early forties a well-dressed young lady attempted to sell political pamphlets on the train at Frederick, Md. Certainly the most respected young ladies knew such favorite campaign songs as the one for Clay quoted by Mrs. Pryor:

Get out of the way, you're all unlucky,  
Clear the track for old Kentucky!<sup>21</sup>

Mississippi songs of "Tippicanoe and Tyler, too," were supplemented by aprons and handkerchiefs embroidered with log cabins and cider barrels. Under banners for the torch light parades made by ladies, Virginia children scrambled into wagons to form tableaux representing Liberty and the original thirteen colonies.<sup>22</sup> The presidential contests meant real occasions, even though the female ballot was an object of the most remote possibility to many of the women. The enthusiastic ladies waved their handkerchiefs for Yancey of Alabama as he arose to address the Democratic Convention at Charleston in 1860.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> James Polk to Mrs. Polk, Campbell's Station, May 9, 1841. The collection of Mrs. Polk's papers is also in the Library of Congress.

<sup>21</sup> J. S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (2 Vols., London, 1842). II. 136-257.

<sup>22</sup> Mrs. Roger Pryor, *My Day, Reminiscences of a Long Life* (New York, 1909), p. 82.

<sup>23</sup> James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (8 Vols., New York, 1909-1913), II. 441-447.

Local politics were also impressed upon their minds, often as the result of an election at polls held in their homes. From Georgia and Mississippi echoes of the famous old barbecues attracted people for miles to break the isolation of plantation life. "Ole Mistis" and the young ladies came with their colored maids to celebrate by testing the ability of the neighboring housekeepers.

But the most renowned of the southern circles was that formed in Washington in the fifties. Beauty made a "sort of female Congress," wrote Prince Murat.<sup>24</sup> Mrs. Pryor's experience with its leaders led her to believe that inevitably graceful taste and inherited ability secured the reins of social control to them. Mrs. Yulee, the wife of the Senator from Florida, and her sisters, Mrs. Merrick and Mrs. Holt, together with Mrs. Robert J. Walker and Mrs. Jefferson Davis, formed the nucleus of the little circle so influential in Buchanan's administration.<sup>25</sup>

From such activities the southern woman made an easy transition to other occupations capable of producing a livelihood. The character of her academic training pointed to writing or teaching. As long as she did not venture beyond the conventional moral novel or sentimental poem, her works were reasonably certain of publication. For the more modest or for those whose verses were a pastime, a nom-de-plume such as "Tenella" was considered appropriate. *The Southern Literary Messenger* devoted pages to the work of these anonymous authoresses. Modesty prevented the publication of the admirable French of the Creoles; Emilie Evershed's *Une Couronne Blanche* went to Paris for publication.<sup>26</sup>

Under the spur of necessity the talented lady contributed such slender volumes as that of young Carrie Bell Sinclair, of Georgia, or poured forth a torrent of novels like those of Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Southworth. An amazing number turned northward to the columns of *The National Era*, *The Saturday*

<sup>24</sup> Achille Murat, *America and the Americans* (Tr. by J. S. Bradford, New York, 1849), p. 248.

<sup>25</sup> Mrs. Roger Pryor, *Reminiscences of Peace and War* (New York, 1905), pp. 81-84.

<sup>26</sup> Aliceé Fortier, *Louisiana Studies* (New Orleans, 1894), p. 50.

*Evening Post*, and the *New York Ledger*.<sup>27</sup> The picturesque Mrs. Southworth stood forth as a popular, voluminous, and impassioned novelist whose literary style never equalled the rapidity of her publications. Her charming Georgetown home was a resort of the distinguished of the nation. Maria McIntosh wrote from an entirely different angle; and her novels published in the North were considered jewels of moral worth.

Three centers in the South itself encouraged feminine talent. In the justly famous *Southern Literary Messenger*, edited by Richard Thomas, many poems of comparatively unknown women were printed; and its comments upon more experienced contributors were none the less critical because of past achievements. In a lesser way the *Literary Gazette* of Charleston performed the same service under Mr. Richards. But the third great center was in the West. George Prentice, of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, stretched a helping hand to the budding poetesses of the Mississippi Valley. One of his friends, famous as "Amelia", published a volume of poems in 1845 which went through fifteen editions.<sup>28</sup> Not all editors were as favorable as these three. The New Orleans *Daily Picayune* refused by special editorial all poetical contributions.<sup>29</sup>

From conventional channels women ventured into other literary enterprises. Miss Blount edited a paper published in Bainbridge, Georgia, for two years; and Mrs. Gilman guided one of the first of southern juvenile journals, *The Southern Rosebud*. Originally a native of Massachusetts, this "past master in the order of American female authors" remained in the South, and was so identified with the section that Mary Forrest grouped her with its most famous women in 1860. Still another type of writer was represented by Sally Rochester Ford, a "leading light of the Baptists," in *The Christian Repository*.<sup>30</sup>

Combining the authoress with the teacher, Almira Lin-

<sup>27</sup> Mary Forrest, *Women of the South Distinguished in Literature* (New York, 1861). The last chapters are filled with examples of the more obscure authors.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 386.

<sup>29</sup> *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, Jan. 4, 1840.

<sup>30</sup> Forrest, *Women of the South*, pp. 41; 55; 67.

coln Phelps deserved more fame than has been accorded to her. Only two women had been honored by membership in the American Association for the Advancement of Science: Maria Mitchel and Almira Phelps. The latter came from the North to the southern city of Baltimore. Mrs. Phelps' work absorbed so much of her interest that she wrote a successful series of text-books upon botany, chemistry, and natural philosophy. No less than a million copies had been circulated by 1860. Her home in the late fifties became the center of communications from former pupils from all over the South.<sup>31</sup>

Southern women conducted many private schools; and the reaction against them was negligible. While the headship of a seminary was not generally trusted to a woman, yet many women became principals of schools in the larger cities of the South. Real controversy arose over their teaching in what was loosely termed the public school. While northern tutors taught the wealthy southern youths, poorer children resorted to the old fields schools or to state institutions. The poor schools attached a stigma abolishing social status. In the early forties woman's employment aroused some discussion, but she won her place in primary work. In South Carolina a free school position indicated a lack of qualification for a better position. But in spite of obstacles women gained an entrance. Hence the pressing problem of proper professional training for teachers arose, but it had not developed beyond discussion before 1860.<sup>32</sup>

Female activity in the education of indigent children in Virginia was disclosed by certain petitions to the Legislature for unpaid salaries.<sup>33</sup> Compensation was miserably small, while discrimination in favor of male teachers was a common practice. North Carolina alone tried to improve this situation in the fifties. C. H. Wiley, its great superintendent, reported in 1854 that better salaries were drawing women into state employment. The almost unknown practice in the South of

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>32</sup> Missouri Legislature, "Message of the Governor," in *Journal of House*, 1847-1848, pp. 26-29.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 1840-1852.

certification and examination of women teachers was initiated. By 1855 the monthly salary of the female teacher in the Tar Heel State had risen to eighteen dollars, a payment second to none, Massachusetts and Indiana giving approximately fifteen dollars a month to their women teachers.<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps the least appreciated of feminine activities was the performance of business duties. In controversies over the higher education of woman constant reference was made to the impracticality of mathematics for her; and yet records unconsciously revealed her in all sorts of business transactions. The Virginia legislative journals tell the story of loans to women and from them.<sup>35</sup> Jane Polk gave evidence of close attention to business details in her borrowing, payment of bills, and budgeting of expenses. Other women were interested in small investments in railroad stock.<sup>36</sup>

In legislative reports of 1840 upon the status of the Mississippi Union Bank and its branches, cotton notes contained names of women as endorsers as well as drawers for amounts ranging from five hundred to seven thousand dollars.<sup>37</sup> The same story repeated itself in 1851 in the statements of the Bank of Missouri and its branches, but in this instance the names were neither so numerous nor the amounts so large.<sup>38</sup>

Southern women also fulfilled the duties of the executrix. One of the largest class of petitions by women to the Virginia Legislature concerned such offices.<sup>39</sup> They sold property, paid debts, and acted as guardians of their children. Left with a plantation, Mrs. Polk kept an overseer and a factor, and saw that all details remained in order.<sup>40</sup>

Some women hired their Negro slaves for monthly or

<sup>34</sup> Edgar W. Knight, *Public School Education in North Carolina* (Boston, 1916), p. 170.

<sup>35</sup> *Virginia Journal of the House*, 1842-1843, Doc. 4, The Report of the Second Auditor, p. 5.

<sup>36</sup> The Papers of Mrs. Polk, 1841-1843. *Virginia Journal of the House*, 1846-1847, Doc. 44, "Proceedings of the Joint Committee Charged with Investigating Rail-roads Companies," p. 77.

<sup>37</sup> Mississippi, *Journal of House*, 1840, pp. 577-613.

<sup>38</sup> Missouri, *Journal of House*, 1851-1852, pp. 70-90.

<sup>39</sup> *Virginia Journal of House*, 1842-1843, Doc. 6, "Proctor's Report on the University of Virginia," p. 8.

<sup>40</sup> Papers of Mrs. Polk, receipts for the year 1842.

yearly compensation. Mrs. Polk let a Negro man for one year for \$47.62.<sup>41</sup> Scattered through the Virginia legislative journals are accounts of such transactions by women who hired their Negroes' services to state institutions.<sup>42</sup> Three such slaves were employed by the Eastern Lunatic Asylum, the payment varying from five to thirty dollars, while the University of Virginia hired the slave Aaron from Elizabeth Woodley for seventy dollars for one year. The extent of this practice has not been definitely measured, but its existence can not be questioned.

From activities meeting the requirement for a lady, transition passed through occupations tending towards the manual to arrive at those debarring from social standing. No definite line was established, but the invisible wall between these classes was insurmountable. The southerner lost all interest in recording the happenings in the life of the poorer class of women. Because they were so lowly, they themselves left slight evidence of their habits and occupations, which, if humble, were at least necessary to the southern community. Their prosaic life and small numbers did not invite historical attention. A nucleus sprang from the old apprenticeship laws upon the southern statute books; even the Missouri constitution of 1821 included such regulations. Any homeless infant, with the court's consent, became an apprentice until the age of sixteen; and a living parent was also permitted to bind out a daughter. The master was ordered to teach the girl reading, writing, and the ground rules of arithmetic, together with compound rules and the rule of three. At the expiration of her term of service, she was provided with suitable clothing worth twenty dollars, a bible, and ten dollars in the current money of the United States.<sup>43</sup>

That women did seek situations was evident from the columns of the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*: "Situation wanted. A white woman, good cook, washer, and ironer

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Doc. 9400, 1842.

<sup>42</sup> Virginia, *Journal of House*, Doc. 34, "Report of Board of Directors of Eastern Lunatic Asylum," p. 21, 1842-43.

<sup>43</sup> *The Revised Statutes of the State of Missouri*, edt. by W. C. Jones (St. Louis, 1845), pp. 116-117.

wants a situation."<sup>44</sup> Chambermaids, nurses, seamstresses, and even a New York governess were rivaled by frequent appeals from the boarding house keepers; and the mid-wife, Mme. Cochrane, did not hesitate to employ the newspapers. Mantua and other dressmakers, together with the milliners, went to the directories for publicity.

The profession of the actress seemed to be shunned, as was the general field of public entertainment. Few galleries were controlled by women. Mrs. Charles Howard owned an Athenaeum and Gallery of Fine Arts in Baltimore, but the active management was given to men. While "Old Sol" Smith, New Orleans producer of 1840, was begged to test the histrionic ability of a young lady of St. Louis, the existence of the southern actress remains hidden. More ordinary but none the less interesting, the fortune teller, the somnambulist, and the planet reader appeared in New Orleans in 1860. Baltimore and St. Louis had fortune tellers, too, but none as perplexing as the lady phrenologist of New Orleans.<sup>45</sup>

No reliable statistics upon the occupation of southern women have been collected. For the more lowly employments, two chief sources have been left in the directories of cities and in the United Census for 1860. Silence cloaked any organizations, although the late thirties brought echoes when the tailors of St. Louis and Louisville struck, demanding that tailoresses be no longer employed.<sup>46</sup> Women needle workers at Fells Point, Baltimore, organized a short-lived society in 1833. Another in 1835, under the name of the United Seamstress Society of Baltimore, blended into the movement producing the United Men and Women's Trading Society.<sup>47</sup> Benefits became a chief objective, the Baltimore *Republican* of October 15, 1835, announcing a benefit performance by the

<sup>44</sup> *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, Jan. 4, 1840.

<sup>45</sup> Woods, *Baltimore Directory*; Robert Kennedy, *St. Louis Directory* (St. Louis, 1859); Charles Gardiner, *New Orleans Directory for 1860* (New Orleans, 1860); W. N. Haldeman, *Pictures of Louisville* (Louisville, 1844). These directories contained the names and the occupations of the women of the cities. No generalities can be made upon the nationalities involved except to state that there were many Irish and some French names represented.

<sup>46</sup> Evans Woollen, "Labor Troubles between 1834-1837," in *Yale Review* (May, 1892), p. 98.

<sup>47</sup> J. R. Commons, *History of Labor in the United States* (2 Vols., New York, 1918), I. 354.

great actor, Mr. Booth. Later in the same year Baltimore clergymen were urged to appeal to their congregations in behalf of the seamstresses.<sup>48</sup> While their remuneration was unrecorded, that of women needle workers in general was small. Mrs. Tyler wrote in 1845 that eight dollars a month should command the best.<sup>49</sup> Records for payment for making clothes for the Virginia lunatic asylums indicated a higher wage, varying from eleven and a half to ninety-nine dollars, but statistics are sadly insufficient.<sup>50</sup> The most numerous occupations involving labor with the hands were centered in needle workers, who were classified in the directories under many heads. Perhaps the most prevalent were the dressmakers, about one hundred and sixteen appearing in Baltimore and one hundred and twenty in New Orleans around 1859.<sup>51</sup>

While the greatest number of seamstresses were employed in Baltimore, and were distributed through the country, the tailoresses were scarce. Few vest makers received mention in 1860, but the millinery shops claimed a large portion of women. No city lacked its fancy shop; and the embroiderer had risen to importance. Professional corset makers and artificial flower makers never gathered in large groups. The blanket term of clothier designated the largest class of female workers in Missouri, according to the Census of 1860.<sup>52</sup> Only one case, that of Mrs. Lytle and Mrs. Shipley, witnessed the existence of a "Gents Furnishings" conducted by women.<sup>53</sup> The Census listed workers on men's clothing as the second largest group of women employed in the South, their number constituting six thousand of the seventeen odd thousand engaged in all occupations.<sup>54</sup> In contrast to these figures the workers on women's clothing were officially numbered at ninety-three. Census figures recorded only those engaged in

<sup>48</sup> *Baltimore Republican*, Sept. 14, 1835, Baltimore, Md.

<sup>49</sup> Mrs. Tyler to her mother, Sherwood Forest, Oct. 6, 1843.

<sup>50</sup> Virginia, *Journal of House*, 1840-1847. The reports of the directors of the various lunatic asylums are not included after the last named date.

<sup>51</sup> See note 47. R. P. Vail, *Mobile Directory* (Mobile, 1842); W. L. Montague, *Richmond Directory and Business Advertiser* (Richmond, 1851); and W. E. Ferslew, *First Annual Directory for the City of Petersburg* (Richmond, 1859).

<sup>52</sup> "Manufactures in the United States in 1860," in *The Eighth Census* (Washington, 1865), pp. 295-314.

<sup>53</sup> Woods, *Baltimore Directory*, p. 267.

<sup>54</sup> Census Report, Manufactures, 1860, pp. xxi-cxxi.

factory or semi-factory employment, because the number of dress-makers in New Orleans alone totaled more than one hundred.<sup>55</sup>

A new type of working woman arose in the mills, even before the industrial revival of post-bellum days and the full development of the factory system. Adolphus Meier's company in St. Louis ran a cotton mill with one hundred and fifty workers, largely women and children.<sup>56</sup> Census statistics revealed that most southern women factory workers produced cotton goods; and their number outranked even that of the men in this work. The seven and one-half thousand females so occupied were concentrated largely in Maryland, North Carolina, and Georgia. Woolen mills employed less than cotton factories, Georgia alone containing over two hundred of the nine hundred women so listed.<sup>57</sup>

This prosaic record contrasts strongly with the chronicles of the belles and their balls in its revelation of thirty-seven different kinds of employment in New Orleans for the less wealthy. The ever-present grocery, the boarding and rooming houses, and the variety store have continued to the present day. And although a single clerk was discernible, the upholstress, the shoemaker and the book binder and seller, and the china-store keeper swelled the list of Baltimore workers. Even jewelry stores were conducted by women.<sup>58</sup> To the female cigar sellers, Missouri added a hundred tobacco manufacturers. Nurses were not regarded with as high professional esteem as today, but all the South praised those aiding Norfolk during the yellow fever epidemic in 1855. Mid-wives and the "doctresses" of Petersburg, Virginia, were essential to the community. In Baltimore the copper and lecher still lingered, although a female physician had arrived. The state asylums and institutions for the blind called for matrons and attendants. From baking and dairy work to washing and cooking, southern women used their abilities to make an humble way in the world. They were not

<sup>55</sup> Gardiner, *New Orleans Directory*.

<sup>56</sup> James Hogan, *Thoughts about the City of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1854), p. 55.

<sup>57</sup> Census Reports, Manufactures, 1860, p. xxxv.

<sup>58</sup> See directories cited in notes 47 and 53.

the belle type, but their presence in the hey-day of the modest and retiring lady is illuminating.

The operations of female liquor dealers in Baltimore was supplemented by the arrest of two Virginia women for the sale of ardent spirits without license.<sup>59</sup> Coffee houses, inns, taverns, and hotels—these were not without their female chatelaines in southern communities. Glimpses are brief, yet indicative that slave labor was not the sole dependence of the South. Inaccurate figures conflict, but the impression remains.

All southern women were not ladies in the accepted and narrow sense of the fashionable novel; and certainly the South was not blessed with more indolent women than any other section, considering its climate and social circumstances. If one searched for a parallel trait of the lady to that mellow-ness which characterized the best of the gentlemen of the Old South, that quality would have been an innate refinement which did not have to hide behind a cloak of assumed modesty, a culture which was derived from old traditions, a standard which permitted the gentlewoman to lead an active life. This southern woman of the upper class, as well as her humbler sister, accepted what life gave. She did not struggle. Hence the women of the ante-bellum South adapted themselves to all manner of activities, old and new.

<sup>59</sup> Virginia, *Journal of House*, 1852, p. 269.

## HARDY'S POETRY AND THE GHOSTLY MOVING-PICTURE

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WHILE the novels of Thomas Hardy are widely admired in the United States, his poetry is neglected. It is not followed in the reviews and magazines: it has no public honour. In his own country it stands very high. Not long ago when Hardy the poet was mentioned in a chattery assembly of literati near London, I was struck by the hush that fell. "He towers above us all," said a young poet-critic in sententious whisper. This was testimony to the contemporaneity, as well as the excellence, of Hardy's poetic art.

His contemporaneity is significant. He may properly be regarded as the founder of "Dark Realism," the most marked tendency of English and American literature at the present time. He opened that vein in his verse of the later 1860's—opened it ominously in midst of the popular silken vistas of Tennyson. But he knew that the public was not yet ready for a full sight of it. The gloomy fissure needed camouflage; as the upturned earth of a new-made grave is adorned, for the obsequies, with cut flowers and branches of evergreen. Therefore he shifted from verse to prose fiction, which gave him more room for rural circumstance. *Under the Greenwood Tree* was idyllic enough. In subsequent novels the tone darkened more and more, up to *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure*. But always the scenic and narrative outlines were so beautifully made that casual readers could take them for natural growths, instead of cut foliage that the author was carefully arranging around the brims of his excavations. His own interest was mainly in the morbid subsoil. And his way of penetrating to it was not properly prose-thinking but poetic divination; like that of Milton's Satan, ill content with "plant, fruit, flower ambrosial" of the upper world:

Whose eye so superficially surveys  
These things as not to mind from whence they grow

Deep under ground : materials dark and crude,  
Of spiritous and fiery spume, till, touched  
With Heaven's ray, and tempered, they shoot forth  
So beauteous, opening to the amber light,  
These in their dark nativity the Deep  
Shall yield us, pregnant with infernal flame . . .

In short, Hardy's novels are too factitious. In time they will be everywhere overshadowed, in accordance with his own declared preference, by his poems. In the 1890's, when a limited English audience was ready for his poetry, he returned with zest to his original vein. He worked it vigorously during the next thirty years, in one volume of verse after another, tossing up fresh ore for the fires of our New Poetry. Streaks of his sombre metal are everywhere in contemporary verse.

No wonder that, full of years, Hardy the poet died full of honour in England. But why is he not acclaimed in America too? Why do not our "dark realists" recognize a vital kinship of spirit? Perhaps because their pessimism does not aim down, like his, toward the very bones of life. They cultivate the earthy ugliness of the surface, merely. For after all they belong to the country of Emerson and Whitman; the American optimism which they officially repudiate is in their very blood. They try conscientiously to be mastered with gloom. But they have a guilty, more or less subconscious, conviction that centrally "all's right with the world." Which reminds us, by the way, that Browning, the obverse of Hardy, won popularity in America more readily than in England. His optimism found quick affinity here. Whereas Mr. Hardy, in declining an invitation to the United States some time ago, felt the matter thus:

My ardours for emprise nigh lost  
Since Life has bared its bones to me,  
I shrink to seek a modern coast  
Whose riper times have yet to be ;  
Where the new regions claim them free  
From that long drip of human tears  
Which peoples old in tragedy  
Have left upon the centuried years.

In my fancy, the second and sixth lines of this stanza fall together with an effect half ludicrous, half ghostly. I see

as in a moving-picture a sorrowful procession of human figures coming down through the centuries and dropping their tears continuously upon Europe, until, by long erosion, the old continent's bones are laid bare,—for Mr. Hardy. Perhaps this fancy is too wilful; but it is due to my recent pre-occupation with Hardy's works. Consider, particularly, the curious "anatomy of the Immanent Will" in the fore-scene of *The Dynasts*. Here the life of Europe is represented as a vast "emaciated figure": prone and fixed, with the Alps for backbone and Spain for skull, but animated throughout with innumerable writhing motions. Presently the twitching ganglia are seen as swarms of human creatures. They detach into mobs and armies, marching and counter-marching. They fight and gesticulate swiftly, and writhe, and die. Sudden "close-ups" are given of the leading actors. The episodes flicker from the scene too quickly to be felt too deeply. And frequently one seems to hear at the rear the drone of the movie-machine. . . .

Life's but a walking shadow, a queer player  
That struts and frets his moment on the screen  
And then is seen no more.

My point is that Hardy's pessimism should not be taken too seriously. How seriously he took it himself, at bottom, may remain an open question. But I have talked with quite a few cultivated Americans who take it, I believe, more seriously than he did. They over-estimate his specific gravity. They miss the full force of his strain of ironic levity. He lived among peoples not only "old in tragedy" but old in comedy, peoples who have learned to pass rather readily into that purely artistic mood in which "all the world's a stage and all the men and women merely players." In America we lack that flexibility; our Puritan business sense has always urged us to organize our emotions, gloomy or glad, into rigid creeds. America is the land of cults. But, by way of reaction, she has now become also the land of the moving-picture. This new form of art teaches the mazing mobility of all things visible, and, by implication, the transitoriness of cults and creeds and doctrinaires. All the world's a film-story! Well, such it is

also for Thomas Hardy, more or less; and from this point of view we Americans can best come to appreciate his poetic art. His novels, slow and deliberate in structure, cannot well convey the essential mobility, the impressionism, of his outlook. But his verse, culminating in his masterpiece, *The Dynasts*, shows human life as a sheer moving-picture,—episodic, grotesque, pathetic, flittering, ghostly.

Just here I recall that a serious American student of poetry, with whom I was discussing this matter, asserted: "Hardy's pessimism is modern, representative, and profound; it cannot be taken so lightly as you assume." I think it can. To be sure, Hardy himself, in one aspect, is a serious Anglo-Saxon, full of pity for suffering humanity, and religiously anxious to tell the dark philosophic truth about life. But this is not his most veracious and successful tendency as an artist. The whole question centers in *The Dynasts*, and the discussion may conveniently be confined almost entirely to this work. I have heard it called a modern epic,—an epic of disillusion superintended by the Greek sense of Fate. I should like to call it, rather, an epic of pity superintended by the ghost of Fate.

The central paradox of the poem is boldly put before the reader in the opening lines:

What of the Immanent Will and its designs? . . .  
It works unconsciously, as heretofore,  
Eternal artisries in Circumstance,  
Whose patterns, wrought by rapt aesthetic rote,  
Seem in themselves Its single listless aim,  
And not their consequence.

The pronoun "their" refers apparently to the word "designs"; though even Hardy finds it difficult, now and then, to be perfectly clear in expressing a confused idea. These designless designs recall the "patterns" of the frost upon our windowpanes. And indeed, if applied only to the "magic casements" of the House of Life, the idea would be effective; but the author proceeds to apply it to the fundamental structure. Very conscious of reacting from Romantic magic, he is quite unconscious of the extent to which his mind is impregnated

with it. Here he frames an epic upon it, and the frame is far too slight. Therefore the poem has a naive and false grandiloquence of inward mode, like Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*. In each of these two works the artist sends his eye over human history with a rather magnificent gesture; but he gives us a narrow and distorted vision of the very thing that makes the magnificence of history, namely, the human will. Shelley, by ethereal magic, sublimates the human will to cloud. Hardy, by reversing the magic, condenses the cloud-stuff and brings it down to a low and sluggish lake in the human landscape. The idea of Love, the great driving-force in Shelley's drama, is confused and vaporous. Hardy's main idea, the Immanent Will, is confused and stagnant. Mainly it is an hypostasis of his own sense of pity for mankind. But it is made up of various elements: it is indebted to the Christian Jehovah and to the Shadowy Something of peasants, to Greek mythology and to nineteenth-century naturalism. But it is neither as human as a god, nor as surging as desire, nor as austere as fate. Hardy, like Shelley, has no understanding of that sublime kind of austerity which is close to the summit of the human will, and which is necessary for the sustaining of an epic theme.

The theme of *The Dynasts* is, indeed, epical. From beginning to end the poem is concerned with the destructiveness of the dynastic principle in human government, and with the last great attempt of that principle to maintain its commanding position in European affairs. In a marvellous procession of scenes, this thread is carried swiftly and unbrokenly from one part of Europe to another, from one episode to another in the great Napoleonic drama, until the whole is wound up at Waterloo. Everywhere the dynastic rulers are shown in the act of blindly bringing on their own downfall, with Napoleon, a dynast himself, acting as their chief scourge and minister. Incessantly we are made to feel that this process of events is determined by a Will which is above the wills of individual men, and is working out through them Its own great purpose. Such *would* be the main effect of the drama upon the reader, if it were not heavily counter-checked by the

author himself. In the choruses he informs us that the Immanent Will, so far from having a great purpose, either for good or for ill, has no purpose at all; and, in effect, that the "Immanent Will" is really not a will. In certain choral passages<sup>1</sup> the contradiction in the author's thought becomes glaring. The Will is represented as at once purposive and impurposive. And when the poet, struggling in vain for an adequate image, has his "Semi-chorus of Ironic Spirits" chant as follows, to the accompaniment of "aerial music":

Stand ye apostrophizing That  
Which, working all, works but thereat  
Like some sublime fermenting-vat  
Heaving throughout its vast content  
With strenuously transmutive bent  
Though of its aim unsentient? . . .

we know that Apollo is taking ironic vengeance upon him: his muse is dipped in "some sublime fermenting-vat . . . of its aim unsentient." This confusion of aim appears also in the characterization of Napoleon. From certain passages it is clear that the author intends him to be a genius-ridden potentate, tragically serving the transcendent Will. On the whole, however, he appears merely an efficient person—an efficiency expert, even—not tragical, nor epical. In short, *The Dynasts* is a frustrate epic.

"But," some modernist might here exclaim, "why not call it the *epic of frustration?*" The very phrase 'sublime fermenting-vat,' though esthetically open to ridicule, does convey, rather precisely, the general effect which the author aims at. He gives us a sense of all the blind and powerful forces fermenting in the universe and in human history. Milton wrote the epic of ordered creation—and made the world too tidy altogether. Hardy, by way of variety and adjustment, has written the epic of creative disorder. *The Dynasts* represents a material and spiritual universe which, in its sheer power of destruction, is sublime."

Certainly, Life has a sublimely destructive aspect; but I don't think that Hardy has any real hold of it. The imagination of the ancient Hindus had hold of it when they in-

<sup>1</sup> Notably in Part First, Act. V, scene 4, and Act VI, scene 3.

cluded in their triune deity, on an equal footing with the divinities of creation and preservation, a divine destroyer, Siva. I fancy that this conception, in one form or another, is destined to be adopted in the future by the European mind and heart. The destructive function of Life, which in Christian mythology was relegated to evil or inferior powers, is now being rehabilitated in our imagination through the influence of natural science. This process has affected Hardy's work. But the process is in its early and confused stage, and has not yet produced poetic images that are sufficiently firm and elevated to approach sublimity. In other words, the central image of *The Dynasts*—the "Immanent Will," the "sublime fermenting-vat"—is never really sublime. It represents a fermenting-stage of poetic sublimity. It is too late for Jehovah, and too early for Siva.

But although for this reason *The Dynasts* is confused and shallow in its inward form, it is a great human expression. It *hints* at a new epic grandeur that may take shape in our poetry in the future. And it has a wonderful atmosphere of its own. Only a shallow reader, I think, could be oblivious of its magic. Only a wrong-headed reader misled by the creaking machinery of the poem and his own preconceptions, could fancy that its magic is entirely mechanical. Its peculiar charm rises from its very conflict of mechanism and impulse, of conscious and unconscious tendencies in the author. Beneath its careful surface, there goes on a ferment of obscure human powers. The poem is like a moving-picture city constructed with minute attention to visual effect, in some old volcanic region of whose nature the producer is imperfectly aware. Strange tremors of Earth communicate themselves to its transient walls. Vapors from natural fissures in the ground pervade the air and affect the gestures of the well-drilled actors. Other writers of our age have given themselves zestfully to the intoxication of the subconscious, with which they seem to have a temperamental affinity. Hardy has the distinction of being a very conscious artist obsessed with the idea of the unconscious,—of being one of the most superb architects in our literature, devoted to the subject of Chaos.

He fails to find in the universe the architecture that he has in himself. Unlike the leading poets of earlier ages, he is never inspired with the feeling that his constructive power is descending into him from above. He has no Apollo, no Muse. He is not aware of that "human Soul of universal earth" which inspired the art of Wordsworth, giving to his "forms and images a breath and everlasting motion." He offers up no creative prayer to creative life, like Milton's

Instruct me, for Thou know'st ; Thou from the first  
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread  
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss  
And mad'st it pregnant : what in me is dark  
Illumine, what is low raise and support . . .

That great brooding dove of Poetry, mystically bringing order into Chaos, is an outworn figure of speech for Hardy. In Chaos, he hatches his own eggs. At his worst, he is an architectural esthete devoid of afflatus, not really much interested in life, and therefore evincing a certain crabbed effort of style. But at his best he is poignantly aware, though not consciously aware, of the contrast between his own beautiful skill and the meaningless surge of life around him. The vital turmoil engages his pity; and through his pity it awakens in him a strange sense of kinship, at once intimate and fearful. He neither gives himself to the confusion of life, nor turns away from it. He keeps his eyes upon it, dreamingly. He dreams upon disorder, even while his hand is putting upon paper words of lovely order. Brooding upon an inarticulate chaos, he develops his careful patterns with an almost hypnotic sense of articulation. Thus he writes (if I may turn upon him two fine phrases of his own) with "rapt esthetic rote" and with a "surging awe of inarticulateness." Such is the rare poetic atmosphere of *The Dynasts*.

This poem is the epical pageant of our age—an age of historical pageants and moving-pictures and radio-activity, of multiform small appetites and humanitarian efforts and philosophical confusion, of order in the natural law and disorder in the human law, of satire and imagistic pungency and scenic display. Hardy, like the age, is distinguished for scene and

atmosphere, rather than for plot. The plot-conceptions in his novels and narrative poems are incessantly mechanical and absurd. The case of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* will presently appear to the general reader, I think, far more pathetic than the case of Dickens's *Little Nell*. The sex-theme in Hardy's writings is striking in quantity, rarely in quality. It has the smother of wet leaves burning in November; there is a vast deal of troublous copulation, and very little flame of real passion, good or bad. The kind of dilemma with which he likes to confront his silly lovers, as for instance in *A Conversation at Dawn*, would seem melodramatic to the point of insincerity if we did not remember that he is always liable to be blinded by pity, and that his irony and humor are strictly limited in scope by his deficiency of high comic spirit. But the root difficulty is, that in his fiction Hardy is making plots in a plotless universe. He does in his workshop that which he believes Life cannot do in the world,—namely, build a story. He wins for his stories some real vitality, however, when he makes use of folklore, local episodes, and historical material. He wins distinction when, as in *The Woodlanders*, he throws the emphasis upon scene and atmosphere. Both these conditions are fulfilled in *The Dynasts*. The folk and their rulers pass and repass before us in 130 scenes each of which is so clearly drawn as to fascinate the eye, and so swift and insulated as to give us just that sense of unreality which is in the author's heart. The whole is the vivid and naïve architecture of a dream—or of a moving-picture. For indeed this poem is the literary sublimation of the art of the moving-picture.

There is something very ghostly, as I have said above, in a moving-picture: in the flickering speed, the unnatural silence of the actors, the immense yet transient emphasis upon gesture. The effect would be still more ghostly if the film, instead of stopping with the triumphant marriage of the heroine, would spin along through the years of maturity, old age, and decay. And suppose the story could be continued, by a magic camera, through death and dissolution, and could follow the human personality until it became a memory in the

mind of its friends—a memory intermittently vivid, but gradually dwindling to nothingness. Such is the way Hardy views his dramatis personae. Half of them are ghosts. The other half are evolving in that direction: each has an embryonic spectrality:

A dream of mine flew over the mead  
To the halls where my old Love reigns;  
And it drew me on to follow its lead:  
And I stood at her window-panes;  
  
And I saw but a thing of flesh and bone  
Speeding on to its cleft in the clay;  
And my dream was scared, and expired on a moan,  
And I whitely hastened away.

Here the reel is exceptionally swift. At the other extreme of his art, the poet moves slowly through memory in a way that recalls Longfellow:

When the wasting embers redden the chimney-breast,  
And Life's bare pathway looms like a desert track to me,  
And from hall and parlour the living have gone to their rest,  
My perished people who housed them here come back to me.

But in Longfellow this yearning for the dead was joined with a certain inimitable gentility. In Hardy, it is joined with a certain brooding, bourgeois verve. His personages are dramatically active; but he broods upon them as though they were shadows thrown on the stage by the scene-set. He sees them all united in a world of death and memory. And he *loves* that region of shades. Death is more alive for him than life. He is an inverted nineteenth-century transcendentalist. He is a disillusioned Anglo-Saxon reaching furtively toward Nirvana. Around our ugly and transient world of industrial Christianity—our world of an urgent but meaningless Will (as he regards it)—he feels an invisible world of No-Will which *may* be real and permanent. But his only *intimate* touch with that invisible world is through the memory of persons whom he has loved, or pitied. Hence the extraordinary verve with which he etches his ghostly persons of the drama. Hence, too, their ironic subsidence, continually, into a Landscape that seems the borderland between Being and No-Being:

There are some heights in Wessex, shaped as if by a kindly hand  
For thinking, dreaming, dying on; and at crises when I stand,  
Say, on Ingpen Beacon eastward, or on Wylls-Neck westwardly,  
I seem where I was before my birth, and after death may be.

His Wessex may be found anywhere, given the slightest trick of similarity, or fancied similarity, in the landscape. One summer afternoon I was rereading his poetry on the porch of an old farmhouse in a remote part of the island of Martha's Vineyard. A south wind was thudding the sea against the clay cliffs. Gusts of it came round the house and swirled the grass that almost hid the decayed headstone of a grave, in the dooryard—the grave of a young farmer-sailor who died there of small-pox two centuries ago. Just beyond, in a moist shrubby dip of the land, some fitful bird-voices were sheltered: the crackling chatter of redwings, the throbbing of the song-sparrow, and now and then from a dead shrub the firm plaintiveness of a meadow-lark. A church-spire was a faint needle above the furthest hill. Everywhere on the treeless slopes were the stonewalls of deserted fields. I found it hard to keep my eyes from them. I noticed, curiously, that a louder boom of the surf would draw my gaze from the poems and set it travelling, not seaward, but along these old gray walls. Hidden waves of thought seemed running between my book and them. One wall was close to me, and all its gaunt architecture was bare in the sunlight: unhewn mortarless boulders ranging in size from an ox to a man's head, with irregular gaps between, but firmly poised, and carefully level at the top-line. What a huge slow labor and balancing nicety of human hands went into these walls! The watcher wants to push his own hands along them and take tentative holds of the upper stones, pitting his fingers in a sort of game against fingers unseen. These walls can pulse with straining gestures, in the full daylight. But toward evening I felt that the landscape was quietly laying hold of them. They became more and more subdued to the contours of the hills. They looked as though the old glacial thrust and subsidence that had formed the Island itself, had been iterated in the settlers who advanced thither and deposited these

stones. The walls to eastward of me became faintly rosy here and there in the slanting sunrays—and so did certain vast gray boulders that squatted about the fields, unbudged by human arms. Fingering through Hardy's pages I glanced over his many verses on sundown:

The black lean land, of featureless contour,  
Was like a tract in pain . . .

The day is turning ghost . . .

The breeze, now stronger, was bringing up the edges of a deep mist; the bird-calls grew faint; the beat of the sea advanced loudly on the land. Presently a network of walls that ridged a hill to westward went black and stark against the sunset. It looked more and more like the undulate spine of some old sea-creature, with shadowy ribs reaching down the fields. It had a sort of stationary crawl, stemming the flood of misty light and shade. It was gradually blanked by mist and night.

## WILLIAM LINDSAY SCRUGGS—A FORGOTTEN DIPLOMAT

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AT THE mouth of the Orinoco river, in 1498, Christopher Columbus first saw the American continent; and there, in the following year, Americus Vespucci, voyaging with Ojeda, gave his own name to the New World. At this outpost, about one hundred years later, the Spanish Empire then ruling one half of civilized Europe, and almost half of the Western Hemisphere, successfully withstood the first assault of the British. Here, in turn, the British in 1895 were forced to pause in their march of conquest, barred in their stride by an almost forgotten American, whose contribution to the Venezuelan Episode of 1895 it is the purpose of the present paper to record.

Venezuela, a South American republic, while bearing the diminutive appellation "Little Venice," is still more than two and a half times the area of France and once constituted a great part of the "United States of Colombia" whose area, 1,300,000 square miles, almost rivalled the then 1,800,000 square miles of the "United States of the North," as its people still style us. Other causes may have assisted in checking the development of the United States of Colombia, before it separated into the three independent governments of Ecuador, Grenada and Venezuela; but that disunion contributed to their weakness would seem to have been demonstrated by the vast, unencroached-upon area of the neighboring Brazil.

Venezuela, bounded on the North by the Caribbean Sea, on the East by the Atlantic Ocean, British Guiana and Brazil, on the South by Brazil, and on the West by the United States of Colombia, is divided into approximately two halves by the Orinoco, a river 1600 miles in length and draining an area of over 570,000 square miles. Even more interesting, topographically, the Orinoco rushes forth from its source with such power as to make a fork in its westward pour, with one prong pushing north, to strengthen the river proper, while

another, pushing south, enters the Rio Negro, an affluent of the Amazon. Thus the southern half of Venezuela, together with the three Guianas, British, Dutch and French, and that portion of Brazil north of the Amazon and Negro rivers, constitutes a region embracing over a million square miles, completely cut off by water from the rest of South America.

This is a fact to be borne in mind, as we trace the history of the Boundary dispute between Great Britain, representing British Guiana, and the struggling republic of Venezuela, to which William Lindsay Scruggs in 1889 came accredited from the United States, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

William Lindsay Scruggs, the son of Frederic Scruggs and his wife, Margaret Kimbrough, was born on his father's plantation, near Knoxville, Tennessee, on September, 14, 1836, the year in which 380 delegates from the States of Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee met at Knoxville in an effort to cement the Union and avert, by an appeal to reason and commercial intercourse, the internecine strife already threatening. Growing to maturity in the unionist atmosphere of Knoxville, it is not strange that William Lindsay Scruggs should have remained a Unionist. In 1858, at the age of twenty-two and being then the principal of Hamilton Male Academy, he married Judith Ann Potts of Virginia. In 1861 he moved to Georgia and was admitted to the bar, but being offered the position of editor of the Columbus *Daily Sun*, he did not practice law, taking up in its stead journalism. In 1862 he moved to Atlanta, where he established a paper called the *New Era*, which stood for the reconstruction of the Southern States, but was neither negrophobe nor negrophile. Later it took the name *Atlanta Constitution*. In 1872 his talents won for him the appointment of American Minister to the United States of Colombia. There, while discharging his duties, he was selected by both the British government and the government of Colombia to arbitrate a claim of the British government against the Colombian government. This he decided to the satisfaction of both parties to

the controversy, as was evidenced by their subsequent behavior. Queen Victoria sent him a silver ink stand, engraved with the British Coat of Arms, and having inscribed upon it:

Presented by Her British Majesty's Government to the Honourable William L. Scruggs in token of their high appreciation of the care and trouble taken by him in investigating a British claim submitted to his arbitration.

The United States of Colombia willingly accepted him again in 1882 as Minister from the United States, upon his reappointment, after his service as United States Consul General at Canton, China, from 1878 to 1882, thus bestowing its approval on his earlier actions. This position he held until 1887, when, as before stated, he returned to the United States only to be appointed, in 1889, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Venezuela. This important post he held until 1893, when he resigned and, in August 1894, was made by Venezuela its Legal Adviser and Special Agent, charged with the difficult task of bringing to friendly arbitration the conflicting claims of Great Britain and Venezuela along the eastern boundary of Venezuela and the western boundary of British Guiana.

So important did a Venezuela-British Guiana boundary settlement seem to South America, that ten of the Latin-American republics had each addressed the British Government concerning it and both Spain and the United States of America had more than once tendered their advice as friends of both parties. Five Secretaries of State, Fish, under President Grant, Evarts, under Hayes, Blaine, under Garfield, Frelinghuysen, under Arthur, Bayard, under Cleveland and Blaine again, under Harrison, had each taken it up and each in turn left it unsolved. Pope Leo XIII had also failed, as Cardinal Rampolla announced to President Crespo, after six months effort, from June 19, 1894 to December of that year.

This was the state of affairs when Secretary Gresham, in President Cleveland's second administration, July 13, 1894, finding that Blaine's second effort under Harrison had failed of results, brought to the attention of the British Government,

through Ambassador Bayard, the following statement of the condition of affairs:

Toward the end of 1887, the British territorial claim, which had, it would seem, been silently increased by some twenty three thousand square miles, between 1885 and 1886, took another comprehensive sweep westward to embrace a certain rich mining district.

But at the particular time of the appointment of ex-Minister Scruggs, as Special Agent and Legal Adviser of Venezuela, it was not apparent that the British Government was much concerned by anything which had been urged during the previous fifty years of controversy. Steadily westward the march of empire was proceeding. What was its aim? What was the motive behind this apparent unwillingness upon the part of the British Government to arbitrate its difference with Venezuela? It is doubtful that it will ever be known precisely. But there are some straws which may indicate from what direction the wind was blowing. One of these harks back to the aftermath of the American Civil War.

On July 27, 1865, Wade Hampton of South Carolina, published in the *Columbia Phoenix*, in reply to "numerous communications addressed" to him from persons "proposing to form a colony to emigrate," a letter arguing against the suggestion, advising his correspondents to "devote their whole energies to the restoration of law and order, the re-establishment of agriculture and commerce, the promotion of education and the rebuilding of our cities and dwellings." Indeed he goes much further. He urges all who can do so, to take the oath of allegiance to the United States Government and to assist its appointee, Governor B. F. Perry of Greenville, South Carolina. But he concludes with the following statement:

In the meantime, I shall obtain all information which would be desirable in the establishment of a colony, in case we should be ultimately forced to leave the country.

Was there a movement from outside at this time, to draw Southern cotton planters out of the United States? Was Venezuela to be the field where they could be utilized for great foreign interests?

That there was some such movement is suggested by extracts from Scruggs' book, *The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics*. In chapter XIX, treating of "Staple products of Venezuela," he states:

During the civil war in the United States, cotton culture in this region received quite an impetus . . . and even after the close of that war a number of experienced planters from our Gulf States who had become disgusted with the new order of things at home leased large tracts of land in Venezuela and entered quite extensively into the business of cotton growing.

He states "they did very well for a time"; but the revolution of 1869-70 caused them to lose two crops in succession and so discouraged them that those who were able returned to the United States; since then he declares the industry has fallen into complete decadence and not a bale is raised for export.

That at least there was a vision of a great movement in the minds of some people in England is apparent from a letter dated July 21, 1867, published in a number of *The Land We Love* of the same year, in which the author, writing from Oxford, England, under the nom-de-plume "Oxoniensis," thus addressed the editor:

I have been so much struck by the excellence of the scheme proposed that perhaps you will allow me space to express my opinion. . . . In the present day, settlements like the military Roman, are rare, but it will ever be regretted if colonists lose that fine sense of the sacred fire burning in the hearths of their mother country, which characterized the Greek reluctantly quitting all his most cherished associations, yet determined to preserve them in his new abode. . . . In an emigration scheme it is necessary that moral and social qualities be combined in happy union. The Southern States fortunately possess this requisite combination. . . . There is a brilliant future in Venezuela. . . . It is a most well timed concurrence of ideas when a government gives 240,000 square miles to Dr. Price and the grantee uses the really large empire conceded, for the benefit of his country. . . . Efficient support will be rendered in England and indeed has already been rendered by a distinguished Southern lady, whose husband is the sole attorney of Dr. Price. . . . The soil is fertile—Humboldt, none of whose prophecies has ever failed of realization, pronounced Venezuela the future queen of cotton. . . . With such natural advantages what will be the result, when an industrious English population—I say English advisedly, for in England we do not make the mistake of calling the Southerners, Americans, we style them English—settle in this too much neglected portion of the globe. There is not much fear that they will be without good govern-

ment. The people which produced such generals and statesmen, as Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Calhoun, Clay, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and last but not least Jefferson Davis, will fulfill Mr. Gladstone's brilliant statement in their new colony.

Who was the beguiling "Oxoniensis"? Where lay the 240,000 square miles, which he describes in 1867, as given by the Venezuelan Government to one Dr. Price? What was the "efficient support" which England was to render?

If the 240,000 square miles lay south of the Orinoco river, once the Government of Great Britain secured the mouth of the river, it was indeed an empire in embryo. Southern planters from the Gulf States were there planting cotton on an extensive scale and doing very well. Indeed, during the Civil War cotton culture received quite an impetus. Why should the British Government recognize the Confederacy in North America, with all that recognition entailed, when across the Caribbean Sea, "Gladstone's brilliant statement" could be fulfilled by Southerners as Englishmen, "pegging out claims" for Old England? But by 1869-70, Humboldt's prophecy failed. The American cotton crop, made in the main by Southern white labor, still enriches the United States.

But while Southern planters could not, by means of cotton planting in Venezuela, solve the problems of that country or bring to a conclusion the long drawn-out controversy between Venezuela and the British Empire, it was by a Southern Unionist that the threads of this controversy were woven into a fabric which could sustain the strain which President Cleveland and his Secretary, Olney, subjected it to; for, until into the hands of William Lindsay Scruggs, of Tennessee, this work was entrusted, it had defied solution.

In the opinion of the Tennessean scholar and diplomat, there was but one way to force a settlement.

England could be induced to recede from her extreme position and agree to arbitration, only by pressure of intelligent public opinion; and this could be brought about only through the active and determined intervention by the United States, in defence of the Monroe Doctrine.

He was not content, however, as the long line of his predecessors had been, to appeal simply to officials. He knew that

what Bryce had so strikingly expressed regarding the United States applied also to Great Britain; and therefore, having been put in charge of the matter by President Crespo in August, 1894, by October of that year, he had prepared, published and was disseminating his pamphlet—*British Aggressions in Venezuela or the Monroe Doctrine on Trial*.

Copies were sent, with an accompanying note by the author, to the editors of the leading newspapers and magazines, both in this country and in England; also to the members of Congress, then at their respective homes in the different states; to the Governors and leading members of the General Assemblies of the several states; and to the principal clubs and private libraries in all the large cities. The publishers had likewise placed copies on sale at the newsstands and bookstalls in the more important literary and political centres and, by the time Congress convened in December, the little pamphlet had run through four large editions and the Anglo-Venezuelan Question, in its relation to the Monroe Doctrine, had become the uppermost topic of the hour. At the very time, therefore, in which Cardinal Rampolla was writing to President Crespo of Venezuela his regret that "the conferences of the Apostolic Delegate were not in accordance with the common desire of the Holy See and the Government of Venezuela" and Secretary Gresham was declaring, in a despatch to Ambassador Bayard, that he could "not believe Her Majesty's Government will maintain that the validity of their claim to territory long in dispute between the two countries (Venezuela and Great Britain) shall be conceded as a condition precedent to the arbitration of the question whether Venezuela is entitled to other territory, which until a recent period was never in doubt," Leonidas F. Livingston, the Member of Congress from the home district of W. L. Scruggs, was introducing a resolution in Congress that both disputants refer their differences to friendly arbitration.

President Cleveland, in his annual message to Congress of December 3, 1894, declared:

The boundary of British Guiana still remains in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. Believing that its early settlement on some just

basis, alike honorable to both parties, is in the same line of our established policy to remove from this hemisphere all causes of difference with powers beyond the sea, I shall renew the efforts, heretofore made to bring about a restoration of diplomatic relations between the disputants and to induce reference to arbitration, a resort which Great Britain so conspicuously favors in principle and respects in practice, and which is earnestly sought by her weaker adversary.

This allusion to the difference between the contestants warrants some description of the stronger adversary.

The British Empire was in 1894 at well nigh the zenith of its world power and influence. Germany had not yet risen to that menacing height of commercial rivalry, which later, coupled with her naval development and great army, so alarmed Europe. Nor had the lessons of Colenso and Spion Kop been given to the world. The long day of Gladstone had almost reached its close. There was a faint gleam in 1894, but now a Cecil was prime minister, Lord Salisbury,—he who had likened Gladstone to a “pettifogging attorney,” to be himself, alas, likened by Prince Bismarck unto “a wooden lath painted to look like iron.” But whether time should show him to be wood or iron, from 1895 to his retirement, Salisbury was to have behind him and his policies all the wealth and power of the landed aristocracy of England, Scotland and Ireland. Moreover the very flower and most of the bearded grain of the Liberal Party was to bend noddingly to him; and, in addition, “rank behind rank in surges bright,” those Radicals who followed Joseph Chamberlain, the brass screw manufacturer of Birmingham and his devoted satellite, Collins, the author of that most attractive economic policy—“Three acres and a cow.” What an Empire it was! Beyond the British Isles with their 40,000,000 inhabitants, the outposts of Britain stretched across the Channel to the fringe of France; while, at Gibraltar below, with implacable grip, they clung to the toe of Spain, their battlements frowning over the entrance to the Mediterranean; which, with their control of Egypt and the Suez Canal, gave them the front and back door to the great sea which separates the European and African continents.

Beyond Egypt, India and its 300,000,000 inhabitants and almost all southern Asia felt British sway, down to the

Malayan Straits; whence over the islets and lands of Oceanica to the South Temperate Zone, in New Zealand, as great as the British Isles, and in Australia, a continent, some four millions of sturdy English stock were filling up the waste places and spreading the essentials of English civilization. Thence from island to island, through the vast Pacific, they swung across to the mighty realm of Canada, embracing almost half of North America, as it stretched from the shores of the Pacific to the Atlantic ocean; down which, past Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Barbadoes and Trinidad, Great Britain hung over the mouth of the Orinoco river, towards which British Guiana had ever been expanding in the fifty-nine years of discussion. What a temptation to the last of the Cecils! Raleigh's dream to be worked out methodically and patiently, with not a cloud in the sky, save Oom Paul and the handful of troublesome Boers in South Africa; and the bare possibility that the United States of America might pause in its ardent chase of the Almighty Dollar, for a brief look around the world. Not one chance in a thousand! So to Cecil Rhodes and the brass screw manufacturer of Birmingham was entrusted the task of corralling the Boers; while the prime minister himself was to weave the web about Venezuela. A glance at the map at page 325 of Scruggs' own book, *The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics*, and Chambers' Encyclopaedia of 1871, will show how succeeding governments had, for fifty-nine years, ineffectually struggled to settle this boundary question. First we note the *de facto* line of 1768. Starting, just above the mouth of the Moroco river, as flowing to the north it enters the Caribbean Sea, the line moves south, crossing the Cuyuni river near its mouth and the mouth of the Essequibo river, up which it proceeds south. Next we trace the first Schomburgk line of 1841, starting from the mouth of the Orinoco river across Barima Channel, running southeast and taking in the whole of Barima Island, then turning west along the coast from the *de facto* line of about one hundred miles, and giving with the island of Trinidad command of every outlet. Near the eastern point of Barima Island the line crosses

the sixtieth meridian of longitude to the east, but almost immediately recrosses, west, thus taking in two triangles of about twenty thousand square miles west of the sixtieth meridian. Following this, in 1844 comes the Aberdeen line, which abandoning the hundred miles of coast, goes back to the beginning of the *de facto* line of 1768, just west of the mouth of the Moroco river. Thence it is projected west with a slight inclination to the south, taking in every whit as much territory below, as it abandoned above; but freeing the river from the bottling hold of the Schomburgk line, which Aberdeen claimed was only a tentative line. But even Aberdeen's line was conditioned upon concessions demanded from Venezuela, not such as an independent government would be likely to grant. From 1844 to 1871 there appears no suggestion of a line that is official; but Chambers' Encyclopaedia gives one following the meridian south, after taking all of Barima Island and the whole course of Barima Channel. Ten years later appears the Granville line, yielding half of Barima Island and two-thirds of the Channel, but claiming fully twice as much territory below, as Aberdeen sought: and, at the same date, Rojas's line, starting where Aberdeen's line commenced and, from the meridian, following the same to Brazil. This yielded a great extent of territory west of the *de facto* line of 1768; but nothing west of the meridian. Then in 1886 came the expanded Schomburgk line, taking in, again, all of Barima Island and an advance up the Orinoco river, together with all that Granville had grasped below. Finally the last extreme claim of the arrogant Cecil in 1890, demanded all, and more than ever claimed before: a further advance up the southern bank of the Orinoco, before the line turned south for a space, and then a great plug taken out of Venezuela, carrying the extreme western point of the claimed boundary almost to Bolivar. And as if that was not sufficiently alarming, it was accompanied by an ultimatum to Venezuela: "No Arbitration Concerning Any Territory East of the Expanded Schomburgk Line."

Whether Secretary Gresham could believe it or not, that was the condition upon which Salisbury would agree to restore diplomatic relations with Venezuela, and the essential differ-

ence between Scruggs, on the one hand, and all the Presidents and Secretaries who had negotiated from the time of Grant and Fish to Cleveland and Gresham, was that Scruggs was aiming, through the power of public opinion, to force the recognition of the principle of arbitration through the interposition of a mouthpiece demanding more consideration than Great Britain was willing to bestow upon weak Venezuela; and when Livingston's resolution:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the President's suggestion made in his last annual message to this body, namely that Great Britain and Venezuela refer their dispute as to boundary to friendly arbitration, be earnestly recommended to the favorable consideration of both parties in interest,

was, on February 22, 1895, adopted by the unanimous vote of both houses, signed by the President and despatched to Ambassador Bayard for him to acquaint Lord Salisbury with its contents, Scruggs had engineered the matter into a slightly different position.

Mr. Bayard, however, reported back that he had been informed that England had nothing to arbitrate; that Venezuela had no accredited diplomatic agent in London with whom to treat; and that the boundary question between Great Britain and Venezuela was a matter in which the United States had no concern. Secretary Gresham seems to have accepted, to some extent, the British view that Venezuela should send a minister to London. That was extremely shrewd of Salisbury, for that would have gotten rid of Scruggs; but, if Secretary Gresham did not see the full force of this, Scruggs did; and he strove to make it plain to Secretary Gresham that if Venezuela took the initiatory step, she would be accepting the ultimatum and surrendering all she had contended for in the long years in which she had striven to be treated as an equal; and that, with the full knowledge of the United States, the principles of the Monroe Doctrine would be flouted.

Before Secretary Gresham could make up his mind what to do, he fell seriously ill and Scruggs, the Legal Adviser and

Special Agent of Venezuela, boldly appealed directly to the President.

Mr. Cleveland listened and promised to look into the matter. On May 25, 1895, Secretary Gresham died and early in June, Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his place, Secretary of State.

Under date of July 20, 1895, Olney sent to Ambassador Bayard a memorable dispatch, which summed the case in six powerful paragraphs. It examined first the indefinite but confessedly great extent of the territory involved; secondly, the disparity in the strength of the claimants; thirdly, the time which it had dragged; fourthly, the necessity for arbitration; fifthly, the objection to a renunciation of a part of what was in controversy, by Venezuela, to obtain arbitration concerning the rest; sixthly, the grave concern and strong interest which the United States had been brought to feel in every new allegation of British aggression.

The British Ambassador at Washington characterized it as "that fiery note." But that was an incomplete description.

With a power of phrase and a logic that was indisputable, Secretary Olney built up a case against Great Britain. The Monroe message was made the basis of the intervention by the United States. Scruggs was followed in this; but, with great skill, Mr. Olney argued that being entitled to resent and resist any sequestration of Venezuelan soil, the United States was entitled to know whether such had occurred and was going on, and therefore to insist upon the merits being determined, concerning which arbitration was the only feasible mode of settlement, as any attempt on the part of Great Britain to enforce her claim by war against an adversary so much weaker would disparage her character as a civilized state. Passing on from this, he declares Great Britain assumes no such attitude; that she admits there is a controversy and that arbitration should be resorted to for its adjustment; but he points out that the practical effect of this admirable attitude of Great Britain is completely nullified by her insistence that, as a condition of arbitrating her right to a part of the disputed territory, the rest should be turned over to her.

Lord Salisbury still demurred to submitting the British claim, in its entirety, to arbitration; but only until a few days before the convening of Congress in December, 1895, when it was laid before Congress with Mr. Olney's dispatch of July 20 and the President's message and his recommendation that a commission be appointed to determine what was the true boundary line. This being found, the United States "should resist by every means in its power, any aggression beyond, by Great Britain."

In four days the recommendation was enacted into law with an ample appropriation to meet the expense of the work and, within ten days, the Commissioners were appointed. They were Mr. Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, as President; Chief Justice Alvey of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia; Hon. Andrew D. White of New York; Professor Daniel C. Gilman of Maryland; and Mr. Frederic Coudert of New York.

The Commission invited both W. L. Scruggs, Venezuela's Legal Adviser and Special Agent, and Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador at Washington, to appear before it, and, while the Commission investigated, renewed attempts were instituted at London to obtain arbitration.

For some months Lord Salisbury maintained his opposition, but finally, on November 10, 1896, the ultimatum—"No Arbitration Concerning any Territory East of the Expanded Schomburgk Line"—was abandoned and arbitration was agreed upon for the boundary in its entirety, the British Government only urging, in connection with it, that exclusive and continuous occupation during a period of fifty years, next preceding the Agreement, should give good and perfect title; and that exclusive political control over any unoccupied territory during the same period, might be deemed by the arbitrators sufficient to give good title.

For some three months Venezuela balked at this condition, which was not entirely unnatural, considering the length of time to which the negotiations had been prolonged, fifty-four years; but to the Secretary of State, whose country was secur-

ing for Venezuela what she had so long striven for in vain, it seemed that it was a good settlement of a dangerous matter and he did not hesitate so to inform the Venezuelan Government, quoting its approval by their counsel at Washington and the Venezuelan Minister. That Mr. Olney quoted the counsel first and the Minister second was due to the reply received by him a little earlier, in communicating with the Minister. This reply should appear in this connection:

Legation of the United States of  
Venezuela, Washington, D. C.

February 26, 1896

Sir—I have the honor to receive your excellency's note of the 24th instant, and the letter of the Honorable David J. Brewer, president of the Commission on the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, which your excellency inclosed therewith; and in conformity with the desire stated in both these communications I transmitted them forthwith to my Government by cable. I deem it pertinent to the matter of which the note treats, to inform your excellency, that Mr. William L. Scruggs has been appointed by the President of the Republic the agent charged with submitting information to the aforesaid Commission and presenting reports relative to the title and rights of Venezuela.

I beg your excellency to accept, etc.

Jose Andrade.

The Arbitration was accepted, February 2, 1897 and, by the following June, ratified. Under its terms two of the Arbitrators were to be chosen by Great Britain. Those selected were Baron Herschel and Sir Richard Henry Collins, of her Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature; but the latter dying soon after his appointment, Lord Chief Justice Russell was appointed in his stead. Of the other two, Venezuela named one and the Supreme Court of the United States one. Accordingly Chief Justice Fuller and Associate Justice Brewer, with the two Englishmen, selected the fifth and presiding member of the Board of Arbitration, which by October 3, 1899, rendered a decision, ending the long drawn out and dangerous controversy.

According to President Cleveland, who did so much to bring about the decision it is thus described:

The line they determined upon as the boundary line between the two countries begins in the coast at a point considerably south and east of

the mouth of the Orinoco river, thus giving to Venezuela the absolute control of that important water-way and awarding to her valuable territory, near it. Running inland the line is so located as to give to Venezuela quite a considerable section of territory within the Schomburgk line. This results not only in the utter denial of Great Britain's claim to any territory lying beyond the Schomburgk line but also in the award to Venezuela of a part of the territory, which for a long time England had claimed to be so clearly hers, that she would not consent to commit it to arbitration.

That is a good description of a great accomplishment, although his history of the controversy, in detail, fails to mention Scruggs and gives all the credit to his Secretary of State, Olney. Yet it is not so misleading as the account in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (Vol. XXXVII, p. 994,) which, while indicating that the author had access to W. L. Scruggs' *The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics*, as well as Scruggs and Storrow's *The Brief for Venezuela Boundary Dispute* (London, 1896), fails to note that it was Scruggs and not the Venezuelan Minister, who "persuaded President Cleveland to take up the cause of Venezuela in vindication of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine." Without bothering to name the Minister, the *Encyclopaedia* attributes an influence and persuasion to Olney, a great part of which was unquestionably due to Scruggs, as his own reply to Olney shows. But if it be thought that President Cleveland is not an unprejudiced judge of that which he had so much to do with, let us call another witness.

In his *Century of American Diplomacy*, John W. Foster says:

Not since the triumph of our government in the Civil War had anything up to that time, occurred, which gave our country greater prestige abroad.

He quotes the *London Times's* contemporaneous utterance in support thereof:

From the point of view of the United States the arrangement is a concession by Great Britain of the most far reaching kind. It admits a principle that in respect of South American republics the United States may not only intervene in disputes, but may entirely supersede the original disputant and assume exclusive control of the negotiations.

But Mr. Foster is not content with the above. He quotes again from an English and a German source—*The Nineteenth Century* and the *Cologne Gazette*, which while acknowledging

—the equity and prudence of the compromise . . . think it necessary to point out that it involves possibilities of considerable gravity, not merely to England and the United States, but also to the civilized world in general. . . . Let us suppose—not an extravagant supposition—that sometime in the early part of the next century a couple of millions of Germans find themselves living in Southern Brazil, and they also find the government of a gang of half caste attorneys and political adventurers at Rio Janeiro no longer tolerable. The Uitlanders revolt and are beaten; they appeal to their own government for protection and annexation. What will the United States do? . . . It is conceivable that even the prestige of the United States might not be sufficient to induce a powerful European monarchy to abandon a large population of its own subjects without a struggle. . . . If the scramble for South America once begins neither the latent resources nor the moral influence of the United States will avail to protect its clients without the display of effective material strength.

But “the scramble for South America” was just what Scruggs’s pamphlet—*British Aggressions in Venezuela or the Monroe Doctrine on Trial*—had suggested the possibility of. It was not only for Venezuela, therefore, but for America and mankind, that Scruggs, after fifty years of British and Venezuelan procrastination and penetration, set the ball in motion, which in two years time checked all subsequent territorial aggressions. The lesson was well learned, for in the early part of the following century, not even the combination of England and Germany, with such further assistance as Italy might have given, in 1902, brought more than arbitration of their claims and payment with great reduction.

But it still may be questioned, by those whose visions cannot pass beyond Anglo-Saxon civilization, whether it was for the benefit of mankind, that the increase of British Guiana, even at the expense of Venezuela, was checked. Let a British publication of the highest order reveal what British Guiana represents, governmentally, in 1927:

The Report of the Commission, which was sent to inquire into the affairs of the little known Colony of British Guiana is gloomy though excellently written. The Commission points out that the Government of the Colony has never really governed; too great sacrifices have been

made to the staple commodity of sugar and to the obsolete Constitution which is a relic of Dutch rule. The Commissioners fully recognize the energy and ability which has enabled the Demerara sugar industry to survive in spite of the competition of much larger plantations elsewhere, but this survival as the Report epigrammatically says means a Government "of sugar, by sugar and for sugar." For several years there has been an annual State deficit and the loans of the Colony cannot be floated here under the Colonial Stock Acts. The root of the trouble is, that the electorate of about 11,000 persons returns a permanent majority to the Combined Court, which controls finance. A far-sighted and consistent financial policy is the way of salvation of the Colony. At present the elected majority are in the position of a minor who can overrule his trustee. All this conveys a stern warning for the white people in Crown Colonies who would like to place their Government in the hands of an oligarchy. The Commissioners suggest that the vicious export duties should be abolished and that an income tax on a graduated scale should be introduced. But this does not seem likely to be done unless the majority in the Combined Court will yield their "rights" and pass on to the Government power to enforce its decisions. The death rate of the Colony is high—27 per thousand and we are told most of the educational textbooks are obsolete. Now that a strong light has been thrown on a dark place it is to be hoped that something will be done. The Report will be greatly disliked by the local politicians; they will say that they have been unfairly condemned and they will not want to give way. Yet it seems that nothing but a change in the unworkable Constitution will suffice.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding his important service, little is known of Scruggs, even by Little Brown and Company of Boston, who in 1905, brought out the second edition of his book, *The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics*, (which throws a most interesting and instructive light upon the people and the products of this dismembered union, causing the reader to regret that similar notes on his consulship in China were not also preserved), or by Furman University, of Greenville, South Carolina, which conferred upon Scruggs the degree of Doctor of Laws. That he was a scholar steeped in other lore than politics is established by the essay on "The Theory of Evolution in Its Relation to the Soul," published in the year of his death, 1912. But some reference to his appearance and characteristics may be appropriate.

William Lindsay Scruggs was a tall, slender man, who, dying at the age of seventy-six, carried his years well. His

<sup>1</sup> *The Spectator*, April 23, 1927.

hair was thick and white in his last years. His eyes, blue grey. Affable and courteous, he was none the less dignified. Also, in his dress, he was distinctly fastidious, never appearing even at his breakfast table unless perfectly groomed. He had a taste for formality. Books were his companions and his library, his greatest joy. He was a linguist and a scholar. Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Kant and Henri Bergson were his intimate friends and companions. Goethe and Shakespeare he loved and Cervantes he found amusing in the original Spanish. His face to some was suggestive of his sympathetic attitude to the Spanish people; but he was probably of pure English stock. He bore a striking resemblance to Roscoe Conkling, but was a very gentle replica. Whatever may be said, and much can be said, justly, in criticism of Congressional Reconstruction, take it for all in all, he was its finest Southern fruit. It gave him his opportunity and he made the most of it.

## FARM LIFE FICTION

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ONE of the interesting developments of twentieth century writing has been the rise of a new school of American fiction finding its subject matter in rural life. It is characterized not so much by method as by material, for the growing group of novels which deal with rural life has reached such proportions and portrays such a variety of aspects of farm life, depicted from such various points of view, that it now bids fair to become a literature in itself. Previous to 1900 only three novels were published in America that are now read and considered as genuine studies of American rural life. Even the first decade of this century showed few additions to the list. But since 1910 the movement toward the development of a farm life fiction has been clearly defined and, since 1920, additions have been made with a rapidity that gives some concern to the sympathetic onlooker who would see this rich field cultivated carefully and thoroughly—not exploited with superficial tillage and ill-considered, hasty cropping.

Rejoicing in the recognition of the value of this material to vital fiction, rejoicing in its use by able writers, but fearing the reaction that is likely to follow if writers who are unprepared to work with it truthfully and skillfully insist upon using it, we attempt to examine the causes of this interest in rural themes for fiction, to see whether it is really a well-grounded movement and whether the chances are that the capable and earnest will be able eventually to hold the field against the exploitation of the drifters who move from one locale to another in an effort merely to please a fickle public.

Many circumstances and conditions seem to have contributed to this new development. Many of them doubtless are too intangible to be discerned but others can be more or less clearly traced. Some of them belong to an inevitable group—a group that deals with evolving interests—and some of them belong to a group more fortuitous in nature.

The belated consciousness among American artists and craftsmen that the thing nearest at hand and most deeply known and felt is as likely to yield a thing of truth and intrinsic beauty when interpreted and expressed, as is the foreign, the exotic, and the exciting, and that it is far more likely to be distinctive and individual, was one of the earliest and most moving forces toward the development of this school of fiction. In his autobiographical *Son of the Middle Border*, Hamlin Garland shows us that, while he was studying and learning to write in the sacred literary precincts of Boston in the 1880's, gradually it was revealed to his consciousness that his own material must be the characters and scenes of the borderland in which he had lived the impressionable years of his life, and in which he had had his most vital experiences. This material was then not only new to literature but there were many who believed that it could not be used in successful writing. If he found the scholarly critics of Boston skeptical on the subject, he found many of the young writers of the Middle West only a little less dubious. But his own conviction grew with opposition, and to the student of American rural fiction today it would seem that at least in certain quarters the opposition gradually gave way to something very like discipleship. It is true that through his later autobiographical *Daughter of the Middle Border* we learn that Garland's faith in the eventual culture of this region waned somewhat with the years, but he admits that the weakening of his conviction was due in no small part to the inevitable passing of his own pioneer and reforming instincts, as youth and his years of growth were gradually left behind. But even at the time of that writing, when Garland's own faith was flagging, Mark Sullivan, who was looking for "genuine American material" for *Collier's*, turned straight to Hamlin Garland who was ready with his story of the *Son of the Middle Border*, in which he had previously been unable to interest any publisher. Opinions may differ as to the quality of Garland's style, but that he was among the first to point the way toward the farm as a source of writing that must be

developed if American fiction were truly to represent the national scene is undoubted, and that he proved that such writing could be made definitely interesting is capable of proof in many volumes from his pen.

Again, Willa Cather, who was early in the field of rural fiction, tells us in the preface of her publisher's recently re-issued edition of her first book, *Alexander's Bridge*, how impressed she was when, on showing this tale of Cambridge, of England, and of Canada, to Sarah Orne Jewett, that gentle writer of New England's pointed firs and individualistic characters remarked, in effect, that it was all very well, but that sooner or later Miss Cather would realize that she would do her best work with the scenes and the characters and the life which she knew best and had known the longest—those of the great Middle West. "In the meantime," said Miss Jewett, "get all you can. One must know the world so well before one can know the parish." Certain it is that every absorbing full-length story by Miss Cather since is either deeply rooted or entrancingly set in our regions west of the Mississippi, and that those which show her undoubted present knowledge of the great world, through her characters link that great world back with the home scene on the prairies.

The great rural area is of course our western area, although the South is a close second. As the western states have passed beyond the pioneer stages, they have developed many writers of their own and have attracted men and women to their universities and other centers whose writing, originally dealing with the themes and settings of the east, naturally take on more and more local coloring. Sources of American literature are thus working their way westward, following the development of an organized life that makes possible at least a margin of leisure for placing thought into words, as well as into action. The histories, essays, critiques that emanate from these regions may merely take on a western flavor, may merely reveal a fresh western viewpoint, or they may be entirely cosmopolitan; but the fiction that originates in this big new country is likely to be rooted firmly in the soil and to deal chiefly

with life as it is there seen and lived, or as these early influences mold the life of the western young people after they leave the farms.

In fiction generally, no matter where placed, we have been witnessing a turning toward the uneventful chronicle of life as it is, without the manufactured plot and the crowding incident of other schools. This general tendency alone would give fiction of rural life a chance to be heard even were it not for the other encouraging circumstances. Truly representative novels of American life, as it is and has been lived from day to day, whether rural or urban, have their staunch supporters among some of the most keenly and finely critical minds of our time. Said Stuart Sherman in his *Points of View*; "For the realistic novel which enlarges and quickens our consciousness of the world we live in—especially for the novel in which the characters, setting and 'problems' possess a genuine representative value—I have an almost insatiable appetite." With one half of our population living in the country, it is evident that truly representative novels must include many that reflect country life, characters, settings and problems, and that such novels will be forthcoming, for with such a demand, supply is sure to follow.

In American art generally, we can discern a slight turning toward rural things. By this is meant the aspect and life of the farm itself rather than the manifestations of Mother Nature alone. It may not be too imaginary to say that Dr. Charles Josiah Galpin, philosopher and friend of rural sociologists and rural people the country over, may be chiefly responsible for pointing up this scarcely discernible drift. In 1922 when the *Survey Graphic* published a rural number, Dr. Galpin wrote the editor in mild protest that the pictures used in this edition of the magazine were foreign and not American, that the bent backs of the gleaners and of the man with the hoe were not characteristic of our American agriculture today. Replying, the *Survey* editor explained that he had felt this himself and had searched diligently for artistic but representative American pictures of farm life (not photographs and

not mere pictures of nature) and had failed to find them. He asked Dr. Galpin to name some that might be used in later numbers.

The courteous request proved to be a baffling challenge. On search and study, the paucity of artistic expression of rural life and farm subjects in painting and sculpture appalled Dr. Galpin, who in his perplexity spoke of it to the Washington representative of the American Federation of Arts. Immediately Dr. Galpin was asked to speak before its next national annual meeting and here he appealed to the assembled art interests of the country to seize this neglected opportunity to symbolize the farmer's deep-rooted passion for creation "to commemorate that moment of joy in the farmer's life when, having made the corn and wheat to leap from the dead earth, he turns over to the world food to keep man going. Once to seize the outstanding thing about present day agriculture, once to discern the idealism in the high-bred product, will be for art to forswear the hoe and to turn to the spirit of life in agriculture."

On that same program were others who had long stood for the national spirit in art, although they may not have centered their thought on telling the actual story of farm life or on depicting the spirit of the farm. Lorado Taft, who with Hamlin Garland had been a leader in the little group of adventurous spirits who showed the world that the midlands could produce and maintain a group devoted exclusively to the arts, was there. Carl Smalley spoke on art for the farmer, and Homer Saint Gaudens discussed international representation in art.

In writing of Dr. Galpin's address, as reported to him, Gutzon Borglum, who so frequently works with vigorous material closely akin to the farm, said: "I recently traveled over much of the Middle West and I was astounded at its beauty. There is nothing in Old England that surpasses the promise of pastoral and rural beauty of this country and I can easily imagine that our great orchards, the groups of fine protecting timber that surround the modern home, the cattle and other animals will give all the artist wants."

In 1923, when the *Survey Graphic* issued another agricultural number, it reviewed its correspondence with Dr. Galpin and triumphantly brought forth reproductions of "two living American artists who see more than drudgery in the farmer's spiritual outlook"—Horatio Walker and J. J. Lankes. Closely Dr. Galpin is following all these developments, and in his office in the Department of Agriculture in Washington today may be found many reproductions of what he has discovered and clues as to where other examples may be seen.

The intense and general, if often inadequately guided, interest in psychology and psycho-analysis which characterizes the present day, has had its influence. No longer are farm people merely countrymen to be pigeonholed into the well-worn types of the older day—the ignorant hayseed farmer, the drab and overworked farmer's wife, the dull and awkward country child. To the insatiable student of inhibitions, repressions, and reactions, farm families offer a wide field for study. Not only are the responses to the same conditions found to be different as among farmers and farm families, but to a certain extent rural people generally are found to respond very much as do city people to some conditions and appeals, and very differently from city people to others. There are few thinking people left today who believe that a certain kind of pressure brought on rural people everywhere will bring the same kind of response.

The profound agricultural depression which followed the World War was probably one of the greatest outside influences that helped to develop this interest in understanding and portraying rural life and rural life problems. The discomforts and discussions that this depression brought about in many widely differing and widely scattered groups, who experienced personal and business inconveniences as a result of the lack of the buying power among farmers, served to awaken an interest in rural conditions and rural people among many who had not given them a thought before. These other groups learned, often for the first time, just how undeniably were their interests and welfare interwoven with the interests and welfare of

the rural people. To understand their own interdependence better and the results they had to expect when disaster visited farmers generally, they began to endeavor to understand rural affairs more fully. Thus the rural people themselves became of more general interest, and thoughtful urban people everywhere began to take greater interest not only in rural problems but in the response of farming people to these problems.

Still more definitely did the depression and its consequences serve to intensify interest among those who were already dealing with rural affairs. Among many, a practical and more or less automatic concern in the economic conditions of agriculture began to be colored with a very human interest in the people involved in these difficulties and disasters—not only in the farmers themselves, but in their families. They found themselves, perhaps reluctantly, concerned with the farmers' wives who had to deal barehanded with the tragic results of failure and loss, but had had none of the excitement of the battle with the odds, and in the farm boys and girls whose plans for college or special training or other chances in life were in so many instances hopelessly thwarted or indefinitely postponed.

The rigors and seeming injustices of this after-war depression, charged by many to the very excess of patriotism of the farmers and their families in answering the world cry for food, sharply intensified the consciousness of the rural people and rendered many vocal who, in earlier days, might have borne the weight of the load in silence. Silence is not a characteristic of the present generation, either among rural people or those in our cities and towns. The economic pressure brought about a great exodus from the farms which involved the young people more than the parents. To some it came as a great escape, long waited for. To others it came as grim and unwelcome necessity. To few did it come as a matter of course.

Turning to less fundamental causes for this new interest in country themes, possibly the Pulitzer prize has not been without effect in recent years. As the fiction prize is awarded

to the American novel "that shall best present the wholesome atmosphere of American life and the highest standard of American manners and manhood", and as a feeling still persists among many that this most wholesome atmosphere is more likely to be found in the country than in the city, and as the quality of manhood connoted suggests a rugged and vigorous type, we are at present inclined to look to rural fiction for Pulitzer prize winners. Fortunately, "manhood" is interpreted liberally, so that when, in recent fiction, a woman, stalwart of outlook, mental fiber and character, appeared among the autumn crop of fiction characters, popular vote had awarded Edna Ferber the prize for Selina and her little truck farm, as shown in *So Big*, even before the voting board had held its meeting. Thus the award moved eastward from the Iowa farm which had won the prize for Margaret Wilson through her *Able McLaughlins*, and it moved from a pioneer farm to a modern small farm in a community almost suburban; but it was from this farm, however small, that Selina had seemed to draw the very substance of her character which developed under our eyes from the drifting and visionary girl of the cities to the practical and purposeful conqueror over stubborn circumstances and the difficulties of the soil.

In practically all lines of endeavor, wherever success appears, others crowd the field. The story of farm life, whether stimulating and inspiring, or dull and sordid, is read, does sell, and does even occasionally win prizes. Here, then, we must expect to see some drifting in of literary prospectors, always ready to stake a chance where others have seemed to cash in. But with possibly one exception, genuine studies of rural life are not best sellers; they are rarely popular in the usual sense of the word; they make their best sale in a slow steady way through genuine friends, gained through the very truth of what they portray, or through the steady or growing value of their sincere and conscientious creators. Willa Cather's earlier books, for instance, are probably more read today than they were ten years ago, for she is a writer of steady growth in craftsmanship and style. Reviewers no longer deal with her

books as single entities, but consider them rather as links in a strong chain, as units in a purposeful American structure. Fortunate was the reader who discovered Miss Cather when her first story that was rooted in western life appeared and who has read every one since as it appeared, reading always with deep delight. In those early days, comparatively few were those who knew her work and comparatively few were the reviews of favor. Not till *My Antonia* came did many except the inveterate readers know her work, and not until the Pulitzer prize called general attention to her through *One of Ours*, did her name become a word to conjure with. In keenness of analysis, in skill in story structure, in brilliancy and subtlety of style, Miss Cather has made great progress, but for sheer comprehension of character, recognition of values, and power to depict them, her earlier work loses little in comparison with the work that she has done since recognition knocked at her door with award in hand.

Those, then, who are looking for easy work and quick return will scarcely consider the rural field for permanent occupancy, but there are signs among the enterprising and more journalistic of our novelists that each thinks it is time to do his farm story, or else is planning to get around to it in the near future. Even though each tries his hand at the rural novel but once, the results may be disastrous for the sincere protagonists of the movement to interpret farm life in terms that are interesting to the discerning, if not to the man on the street.

Cannot something be done to discourage this tendency to try the rural theme just for what it is worth? Friends of the Negro spirituals, aghast at the exploitation of that precious material when once it had been brought to general light, have worked to good purpose in their educational endeavor to awaken a real understanding and appreciation of the spirit and motivation of these songs of a distinct people. Less and less do we see them either given or heard in a spirit of levity or condescension. More and more are they given, whether by black or by white, in a spirit of devotion and worship, and

more and more are audiences hearing them with reverent attitude, with rapt attention, and with real understanding. Is it too much to hope that the friends of farm-life fiction will use their influence to discourage the hasty, the superficial, and the ironic? We welcome a definite movement to place the characters and life and problems of farm people before the public in interesting form, but we do not want anything in the nature of a fad, with its inevitable sequel of satiation.

And we are not without signs of weariness among the public already. "I have ploughed my last Iowa cornfield," exclaimed one discriminating reader the other day with a sigh, as she closed one of the better-told stories of farm life. "I ache as if I had followed every furrow myself." That this is high praise for the author of those furrows goes without saying, but the remark is not without other significance. And it is, in effect, a recapitulation of other less telling comments that have fallen frequently of late on apprehensive ears.

This is not an appeal that only the bright and sunny side of farm life be shown by our fictionists. We want representative novels; and even the most optimistic, if he knows his rural regions well, knows that there is a dark side which is found all too frequently. We would not suppress that fact. Both the advantages and the disadvantages of farm life should be known. Even those who love farm life well have moments when the odds against successful farming seem too heavy to be borne. But we would ask that he who undertakes to picture farm life should study well his characters and their thoughts and reactions and, before he paints his picture in its final colors, make sure that he is not obscuring some hope, some plan, some lure, or some satisfaction which supplies just that needed spark which turns drabness and drudgery into life with a purpose.

In the most notable of the books on rural life, the sense of growth, for instance, is everywhere evident. It is developed, not only through the leading character and the very nature of the expanding work of his or her hands, but in the evolution of the neighborhood in which the farm is located. Probably

Herbert Quick has best unfolded such development of a region because he devoted three books, in sequence, to his home district in Iowa. Through *Vandermark's Folly*, *The Hawkeye*, and *The Invisible Woman*, we see, with understanding eyes, the region pass through the era of movement in from the east, see the process of settling down and building of home and community, and see the expansion that comes with railways and exploitation. We find Quick's corner of Iowa a remote region dealing with problems of isolation; we leave it a district midway between the borders of a great continent and dealing with the problems brought about by civilization, organizations, and institutions.

To those who have pictured country life at its best we owe genuine gratitude. Rarely does this mean depicting country life as receiving adequate money return for effort expended. Rather it means an understanding on the part of the author, and an ability to make another realize that the truly country-minded person of rich personality draws from the very soil itself, from the forces of nature with which he works, and from the wide fields and unpolluted air surrounding him, a spiritual, mental, and physical tonic which he could not find in any other walk of life.

It is significant of this new day in life as in literature that the three outstanding characters of fiction who exemplify this fact are women, and they were given us by women writers, even as the first three novels to set forth a study of rural life, before the dawn of this century, were written by men. Eggleston's *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, Howe's *Story of a Country Town*, and Garland's *Main Travelled Roads*, each made its own contribution and enriched our fictional literature by opening new doors, but they did not suggest this deep drinking at the very springs of life as do our three selected later women writers. "Antonia" in the further west, "Selina" near Chicago, and "Dorinda" in Virginia, have made life definitely richer for all who know them because of the true, though unassuming, greatness of their natures, nurtured and expanded by the very forces of the farms which were nurtured and expanded by them.

One is inclined to feel that "Selina" of *So Big* would have succeeded in any work where determination, good sense, and application count for much. Perhaps this is merely saying that Miss Ferber was not quite completely successful in relating her farm woman to her farm soil; on the other hand, we must remember that Selina was transplanted to the farm from a far different life of a certain shifting element of certain cities, whereas *Antonia* and *Dorinda* were born on the farm, of men and women who were farmers before them. Certain it is that we do feel that Selina drew more satisfaction in making her desolate little truck patch yield as a fertile garden than she would have in succeeding in any more dramatic or easy or remunerative sphere.

That a story of the type of *Barren Ground*, with its indomitable "Dorinda", should come from within the borders of aristocratic Virginia, is also significant of a new day and has been widely recognized as such. To those who have watched Ellen Glasgow's skillful dealing on her pages with very real persons, it was not a complete surprise. To easterners who had been following agricultural fiction through the year, it was a great gratification. A reader not already acquainted with Miss Glasgow's work would probably never have guessed that this, for her, was work in a new field, so deeply are the style and the vocabulary and the figures of speech, as well as the characters and the problems, rooted in the very soil and locality. Over and over again with *Dorinda*, in winter and summer, in fall and spring, do we make that two-mile trip from the village to Old Farm, as she lives her life of ceaseless endeavor, until we know every foot of the way, every turn and rut of the old road as it winds past the old Harvey place, past the pastures of Honeycomb Farm with its straggling sheep and its old worn fences, on down to the fork of old Stage Road where the giant blasted oak stands beside the ruins of a burned cabin. Then comes the big red gate of Five Oaks, whose fine old brick house is just glimpsed from Gooseneck Creek. On and on the road dips and rises along a thin border of wood, over a piece of corduroy road, over the old log bridge which spans a marshy

stream. Here at last, to the right, is the gate to Old Farm, sagging on its hinges, then the bad turn of the narrow lane and its steep and rocky ascent to the long white-washed house among the trees, which, as no other place could ever be, will always be home to Dorinda.

Closely bracketed with *Antonia*, although not so well-known, is Alexandra, created for us in earlier days by Miss Cather in *O Pioneers*. Here among many other deep satisfactions we find one of our best portrayals of love between older sister and younger brother.

"His ideas about his future would not crystallize; the more he tried to think about it, the vaguer his conception of it became. But one thing was clear, he told himself; it was high time that he made good to Alexandra, and that ought to be incentive enough to begin with."

On the eve of his departure for the law school after four years of college, provided by Alexandra, and a year of wandering in Mexico, in the midst of his restless packing, Emil threw himself on the old slat lounge, where he had slept when he was a little boy, and lay looking up at the familiar cracks in the ceiling while his sister stitched steadily away on sewing she was doing for him.

"'Tired, Emil?'" his sister asked.

"'Lazy,' he murmured, turning on his side and gazing at her. He studied Alexandra's face for a long time in the lamplight."

When he suddenly asked if an old secretary in the corner had been his father's writing desk, Alexandra laid down her sewing and quietly spoke of their father as she had known him—so different from the other settlers of the district—how much he read when he could get books; how frequently he wrote in his fine-engraving hand to his friends in the Old Country who were members of his singing society. She divined how these things would comfort Emil after his recent contacts with his uncouth and bigoted brothers.

"'Father had a hard fight here, didn't he?' he mused thoughtfully.

"Yes, and he died in a dark time. Still, he had hope. He believed in the land."

"And in you, I guess," Emil said to himself."

But whenever we think of the great farm women as revealed to us in our American fiction, sooner or later the mind turns inevitably with a homing instinct back to "Antonia."

Ántonia had always been one to leave images in the mind that did not fade—that grew stronger with time. In my memory there was a succession of such pictures, fixed there like the woodcuts in one's first primer: Ántonia kicking her bare legs against the sides of my pony when we came home in triumph with our snake; Ántonia in her black shawl and fur cap, as she stood by her father's grave in the snowstorm; Ántonia coming in with her work-team along the evening skyline. She lent herself to immemorial human attitudes which we recognize by instinct as universal and true. I had not been mistaken. She was a battered woman now, not a lovely girl; but she had that something which fires the imagination, could still stop one's breath for a moment by a look or gesture that somehow revealed the meaning in common things. She had only to stand in the orchard, to put her hand on a little crab tree and look up at the apples, to make you feel the goodness of planting and tending and harvesting at last. All the strong things of her heart came out in her body, that had been so tireless in serving generous emotions.

"It was no wonder that her sons stood tall and straight. She was a rich mine of life, like the founders of the early races."

In none of these outstanding books does one find false sentiment nor artificial rose-colored light. The country, the farm, the farm people and the farm conditions, often far from satisfactory, are pictured clearly and without prejudice but are pictured as seen by those whose eyes have that near-divine gift of penetrating far beneath the surface. Theirs are real men and women of the soil to whom the creations and growths of the farmyard and the fields are truly akin to the same phases of human life. Their heavy and continual work to them is not

deadening, but is literally quickened with the pulsations of life itself.

To seek to protect and foster work like this is not to plead for a minority or a minority interest. Ours is still a nation of the country born. Our cities are, and long will be, recruited from the farms and made up largely of men and women whose earliest recollections are closely allied to ploughed fields, busy farmyards, big noon dinners, and lamp-lit livingrooms with wide hearths and open fires. To read deep into the best of these books is, for many of us, to go back into the deepest and dearest recesses of childhood memory and feel once again that though to our physical eyes we may be shut in by hillsides and forests, our hopes and our plans and our aspirations are wide as the world is, and as high as the stars.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE TRAINING OF AN AMERICAN; THE EARLIER LIFE AND LETTERS OF WALTER HINES PAGE, 1855-1913. By Burton J. Hendrick. Boston and New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1928. xii, 444 pp.

This volume supplements two volumes of Mr. Hendrick, published in 1913, which treated of Walter Hines Page's services as Ambassador to England. The theme of those volumes was, of course, Page's sympathies and rôle as a diplomat; that of the present one his place in American life and letters. Of the merits of the two works the conclusion of every reader will doubtless be that the latter is by far the superior. The currents of politics, national and international, were too complex and intricate for either Page to grasp or his biographer to interpret conclusively and definitely. On the other hand, Page's life and achievements before his emergence as a diplomat is a simpler unit and more remote, easier to comprehend; and in its interpretation Mr. Hendrick has proved himself a master. His volume must take high rank in the apparently unexhaustible stream of current biographies.

Three outstanding themes run through the book—Page's background and experience in North Carolina, his finding a way in the world of journalism, and his ideals of American life. Born just prior to the Civil War, his boyhood and youth were spent in the South's leanest years, years that were lean intellectually as well as economically. How did this young man rise above the dead level around him? The influences of home, of colleges, of university, and his efforts to bring a better day to North Carolina are described with unusual perspicacity. Indeed, Mr. Hendrick has the rare faculty of reconstructing an environment which has disappeared as though he himself had known it. The intellectual, dissenting grandfather, the stalwart father, a man of business vision, the rare mother with an instinct for the beautiful—all represent phases of Southern life which were anything but conventional. It was natural for a boy with such a heritage to become a social dissenter; and wherever he went and whatever his contacts, that inborn spirit of dissent was stimulated. One wonders how many other dissenters there were in those days of readjustment after the Civil War. Yet the young man was a patriot and nationalist. Always his earnest desire was to do something for the Southland, to give it a new place in the life of the nation.

The second theme of Mr. Hendrick, Page's integration in American journalism, makes the volume a contribution to American literary

history. How this dissenter raised to new levels such periodicals as the *Forum* and the *Atlantic Monthly* and brought into being periodicals entirely new is a moving story—the story of a pioneer who revolted against traditional standards and sought to establish a cosmopolitan atmosphere in American journalism.

Finally, the thought, the ideal, of Walter Hines Page shines forth in every chapter. He was an American Nationalist of the Twentieth Century. He had faith in the lasting values of democracy, especially the new democracy of industrialism. "Now there is much cultivation," he said, "in physical comfort. The most pathetic chapter in human experience is that long chapter which tells of men's trying to thank God because he had deprived them of ease and made life hard and insanitary. . . . When we first had running water in our houses, a great impulse was given to culture. . . . The best means of culture is association with the right kind of persons. To make instinctive acquaintances is a part of the machinery of our era. It is the distinct contribution that industrialism has made to our society. Think of the loneliness of Emerson and Carlyle. Our Industrial Era takes us on long journeys everywhere about the world. . . . An American of half a century ago looked to England, perhaps to Paris, and if he were a classical scholar, to the regions of the Mediterranean. It was a small arc of a circle that his vision took in. Now such a man looks to all the capitals of the world, East and West, and his horizon is incalculably wider." (p. 299).

Naturally, Page was a realist rather than a romanticist, and looked to the possibilities of the future rather than to the glories of the past. "There never was a time in the history of the world when for every living form of literary work more good material seemed to be lying waste than now in our country. . . . More knowledge; more scholars; more subjects; more readers; and incidentally more money for good writers. And yet little of this material is worked into good prose and less of it into good verse." (p. 301). He had a preference for rugged ideas rather than form. "Books are not literature, nor is learning literature. . . . Literature is not learning, but it is thought, and it is not merely thought but it is thought artistically expressed. Any book or any speech that has worthy thought expressed 'with curious care' is literature." (p. 281).

Such were the dominant motives in the life of Walter Hines Page. Born in a minority section, he was a Nationalist, an apostle of American Democracy, a Realist, a believer in the vast possibilities of the future. He had something of the genius of a prophet; and as one

closes the volume he wonders if Page's optimism would have remained as unfettered and fresh if he could view the American scene of today.

W. K. B.

SHELLEY: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By Walter Edwin Peck. Boston and New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1927. Two volumes, illustrated, with appendix and index. xiii, 532; vii, 490 pp.

In the long list of Shelley biographies, Professor Peck's will certainly take a distinctive and honorable position. While it may have some imperfections, it avoids most of the faults that have been specifically charged to other biographies of Shelley. It is at once the most pleasingly illustrated, the most complete, and the most thoroughly documented and in its appearance and its careful, painstaking scholarship quite worthy of a great poet. The scholarship, in fact, may be a trifle too apparent; there are times when overcareful documentation (such as footnote references to locate passages from *The Skylark* or Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, or the long list of Shelley's checks in the appendix) tends to obscure the woods with trees.

Those who object to a certain saccharine partisanship in Dowden's life of Shelley—hitherto and probably hereafter, the standard life—will applaud Professor Peck's evident desire to remain fair and objective. One or two reviewers have suggested that he goes too far in this direction, and fails to give a completely satisfactory, coherent view of his subject's personality. To this Professor Peck may well rejoин that no such satisfactory personality may be evoked from the materials and at the same time be true. The whole history of Shelleyan biography and criticism supports such a conclusion. However, this hardly excuses Mr. Peck from certain slight lapses from consistency in his own point of view. Why defend Harriet so clearly and convincingly, for example (when Mark Twain had already done the same thing) and fail to take a similarly unpartisan view of Shelley's treatment of his father and Elizabeth Hitchener? The treatment of Harriet is admirable and suggests that the author was well able to clear Sir Timothy of some of the superfluous obloquy that has been heaped upon him. As for Elizabeth Hitchener, Professor Peck himself presents new materials that make Shelley's treatment of her seem slightly more justifiable, but hardly to the extent that the author goes.

The inter-chapters on the sources and meaning of Shelley's more important works contain a good deal of valuable material for the special student. Professor Peck is beyond question a source-hunter of the first degree. The summaries and explanations of meaning are deft and

true, but will be regarded as a little unnecessary by the readers who will find the source studies valuable.

The discovery, since Dowden wrote, of a number of new items of Shelleyan interest and the output of special studies by scholars all over the world have furnished Professor Peck with a definite and valid reason for writing a new biography. His own indefatigable industry has created from a fusion of new and old materials a biography which, if it does not quite supplant Dowden's more maturely considered work as the standard, will at least always remain an indispensable work for the student of Shelley. It is a book of such solid worth than one can well afford to overlook certain blemishes of detail and even of general conception as are here suggested, in view of its many positive virtues. It is America's greatest single contribution to Shelleyan scholarship.

NEWMAN I. WHITE.

ROWLAND, ERON (Mrs. Dunbar Rowland), *Varina Howell: Wife of Jefferson Davis*, Vol. I, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. xv, 449 pp.

Faint praise may damn our heroes, but too much praise annihilates them altogether. One by one our historic personages have been robbed of all reality by well-intentioned biographers who would say nothing ill of them; until a later literary generation in sheer reaction must needs say little that is good. Mrs. Rowland belongs to the older school, and presents her chief characters, Varina Howell Davis and Jefferson Davis, in a pose of impossible perfection. As an inevitable consequence she robs these two, who were indeed so very much alive in their time, of all semblance of reality. It is, to be sure, something of a relief these days to pick up a biography which is not over realistic; one which is more interested in old-fashioned mothers than in mother-complexes. Yet to revert all the way from realism back to meaningless romanticism will hardly save us. We merely pass back from the Freudian fire to the Victorian frying-pan.

Mrs. Rowland remarks in her Foreword that her study of Varina Howell was undertaken "after much preliminary research of a laborious character", but the citations given in the pages of the biography hardly indicate the extent of this research. To a large degree the narrative of this first volume simply follows that of Varina Howell's own *Memoir of Jefferson Davis*. Indeed in many places the former seems to be based almost entirely upon the latter; with this unfortunate difference, that whereas the original presents a rather keen, candid and straight-

forward narrative, the present biography literally buries the subject under an effusion of well intentioned but romantic gush. Indeed, the most convincing portions of the present study are those which are directly quoted from the *Memoir*. Herein, with the idealistic covering temporarily brushed aside, the real Varina Howell suddenly emerges, living, fervid, a woman of rare culture and ability—only to be lost again beneath further literary effusions. Mrs. Davis, in the eighties, was in no sense as Victorian as her present biographer.

It is only fair to note, however, that Mrs. Rowland has taken pains to collect such reminiscences as she could from "descendents of contemporaries"—a source which, for all its traditional unreliability, is by no means to be ignored. Here and there this material truly supplements the *Memoir*. This is especially true of such topics as Varina Howell's engagement and marriage; concerning which the memoir of a Victorian was naturally reserved, and which perhaps particularly appealed to Mrs. Rowland's interest in the ideal.

Here and there, too, are touches of romantic drama that may stir the reader, even though they do not convey a sense of reality. After all, there was much of actual romance in Varina Howell's life. The contrast between her relatively simple and idyllic girlhood in Mississippi and the social prominence of a rising young senator's wife; the friendships with many of the nation's political leaders; the trying days of '61 at the nation's capital; the sudden elevation as mistress of the new White House of a new nation—all these are of the stuff of actual romance, and Mrs. Rowland occasionally makes the most of them.

The volume takes the story of Mrs. Davis and her famous husband down to the time of his selection as the first President of the Southland. Here and there throughout the book are historical generalizations, some of which are intelligent observations on Southern social life, but others are open to question. It is hardly true, for instance, that historians have entirely neglected the "poor whites" of the South; indeed, one of the things historians have discovered about them is that they were not so unanimous in supporting the Confederacy as Mrs. Rowland seems to assume.

Although proclaiming herself a Southerner, Mrs. Rowland shows little or no evidence in this first volume of any feeling against the North. This is creditable, when one recalls that the Northern treatment of Davis was such as would naturally make an admiring biographer bitter. Indeed the defamation to which the Davises were subjected was such as almost to explain, if not to justify, Mrs. Rowland's present idealization.

This idealization will be of service if it renews our interest in the real, if Mrs. Rowland's *Varina Howell* can call our attention back to the actual Varina Howell's *Memoir*.

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK.

THE SEARCH FOR ATLANTIS. By Edwin Björkman. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. 119 pp.

ATLANTIS IN AMERICA. By Lewis Spence. New York: Brentano's, [1927]. 213 pp.

That Plato's Atlantis had an objective existence can probably never be demonstrated by marshalling and interpreting the evidence now available. To convince a generation that regards itself as scientific would require new and unpredictable material, such as the discovery of a sub-Atlantic site with authenticated sign-posts. This matters no more than the historicity of Helen. If any layman may feel sure that the threads which might stretch back to a specific prehistoric civilization are too tenuous and tangled ever to lead back over 10,000 or possibly 30,000 years, he may feel quite as sure that there were prehistoric civilizations of which we have no knowledge (witness the recently recovered Cretan civilization) and that these threads at least lead somewhere, though they may not be traceable to the end. Since Schliemann's day, historians have developed increased respect for the unhistorical legend when used as a divining rod.

It is the legend of Atlantis which most interests Mr. Björkman. He pursues the legend so ingeniously and withal so luminously that one can almost fancy his dismay should there be a tangible, demonstrable Atlantis at the end of it. Starting with the story that was ancient lore when Solon was supposed to have had it from Egyptian priests nearly 600 years before Christ, he examines Plato's treatment somewhat in detail to establish a clear picture. Then, by comparing details, he shows a significant resemblance between Homer's Scheria (the Land of the Phaeacians), and Plato's Atlantis. He then passes to the Biblical city of Tarshish (the Greek Tartessos) which recent archaeological evidence has apparently located at the mouth of the river Guadalquivir. The legendary Atlantis, Scheria, and Tarshish seem to have been roughly contemporaneous and to correspond strikingly in the principal features of their description that can be pieced together: hence their possible identity. It is an engaging theory, skilfully presented, and containing, incidental to the thesis, some very interesting sidelights on the earliest known stages of Mediterranean traffic.

Mr. Spence's approach is singularly different. To him Atlantis is not a city but a whole civilization, the best evidence for whose existence

is the deposit it has left on the beliefs and customs of later races. Such relationships exist between European and Egyptian mythology and folk-customs, on the one hand, and those of the Aztecs and Mayas, on the other, that a common source must be sought for them. This could only be in a prehistoric Atlantean civilization which was gradually submerged by the Atlantic. Successive waves of refugees account for the Cro-Magnon, Magdalenian, and Azilian-Tardenoisian invasions of Europe. The Mayas were the last wave, moving westward along a slowly sinking land-ridge to reach America about 200 b.c. For prehistoric existence of an Atlantic land-mass between Europe and American folk-lore, on which he is an authority, Mr. Spence adduces a considerable weight of evidence from geologists, studies of flora and fauna, and even from certain points of agreement in pre-Columbian geographical myth. Atlantis itself he has no evidence for, beyond the Platonic tradition and the "Atlantean culture complex" which he finds in America, ancient Europe, and ancient Egypt. In the development of this culture-relationship he shows a great deal of learning, particularly in the field of primitive American folk-lore, on which he is an authority. Most of the chapters and especially those on the mummy and on witch-craft, have a value quite independent of the main thesis.

Neither Mr. Björkman nor Mr. Spence bring full conviction. That would be an extravagant expectation. No doubt a specialist could pick many flaws in the evidence they present, not to mention evidence they may have ignored. Even a layman may wonder if Mr. Björkman's theory is not weakened by the possibility that the resemblance of Plato's Atlantis to Homer's Scheria may be due to Plato's borrowing from Homer; or, in the case of Mr. Spence, how the Mayas preserved their civilization—and their isolation—during the 10,000 years or more between the supposed inundation of Atlantis and their appearance in America. But that is hardly the point. What is of more value is that both books, by an excellent marshalling of facts which are interesting in themselves, tend to keep open one of history's most absorbing problems and even to make the possibility of its solution seem a little less incredible.

NEWMAN I. WHITE.

LAW IN HISTORY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Edward P. Cheyney. New York. Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. vii, 173 pp.

This is a collection of papers and addresses, of varying value, extending over a period of some twenty years, and indicating the steady bend of Professor Cheyney's mind towards historical philosophy. The

volume includes stimulating essays on "The Agitator in History", "The Tide of History", and "History Among the Sciences", an attempt to answer the perennial question of "What is History?" and a spirited rather than profound defense of democracy, "Historical Tests of Democracy". But it is the leading essay on "Law in History", first delivered as Professor Cheyney's presidential address before the 1923 meeting of the American Historical Association, that must necessarily excite most interest and command most attention.

The laws which Professor Cheyney presents, with profound humility, are by no means within that category which Henry Adams indicated when he asked, "What shape can be given to any science of history that will not shake to its foundations some prodigious interest?" Professor Cheyney suggests, tentatively, six laws: continuity, mutability, interdependence, democracy, freedom of consent, and moral progress. There is no attempt adequately to define some of these vague terms, and Professor Cheyney lays himself open to pertinent criticism by the assumptions implicit in such shibboleths as "moral progress".

These six laws, or hypotheses, are innocuous enough, to be sure, and offer little challenge to the existing order. But Professor Cheyney is treading on volcanic ground when, in the essay on "History Among the Sciences", he descends from laudable generalities to perilous particulars: "If trade unions are always with us, it is a waste of effort for employees to carry on a nation-wide campaign for the open shop. If democracy is permanent it is unfortunate for Italy and Spain and Greece and Hungary to seek their salvation in opposition to it. . . . If prohibition is merely one of a familiar type of limitations on individuals . . . that have proved conducive to individual liberty, it is a pity to be fighting it." Such laws of history are indeed packed with dynamite, and we seem to hear again the melancholy warning of Henry Adams, "What shape can be given to any science of history that will not shake to its foundations some prodigious interest?" Yet the historian will not be intimidated by the danger.

No phenomenon of our generation, indeed, has been more arresting than the attempts of historians, economists, sociologists, and politicians to reduce their subject matter to a science and to discover the laws of its development. The "Humanities" have disappeared, and the "Social Sciences" have supplanted them, though the new label is idealistic rather than descriptive. Few intellectual movements, however, are more deserving of sympathy, call more compellingly on the loyal co-operation of thoughtful men everywhere, than this attempt to bring order out of social chaos. If the attempts to discover the laws of the social

sciences seem amateurish and blundering, if they end all too frequently in frustration and futility, so too, we must remember, were the earlier attempts of man to discover the laws of the exact sciences. And the responsibility to discover the laws that govern society, if there be such, is even more imperative, more unescapable, than that to discover the laws of physics and chemistry. The chances of failure are overwhelming indeed, but the consequences attendant upon failure even more devastating, and what man will dare provoke that exultant cry of Henry IV that has sounded as a challenge down through the centuries, "Go hang yourself, brave Crillon, we have fought at Arques and you were not there."

HENRY COMMAGER.

New York University.

SOME AMERICAN LADIES. By Meade Minnigerode. New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1926. 287 pp.

Mr. Minnigerode is one of the numerous American journalists who have turned to the writing of American history. Perhaps he and Claude G. Bowers are the best writers who have directed their attention to this field. Both are usually accurate and both have an excellent popular style. Both, moreover, are chiefly interested in biography.

In the present work Mr. Minnigerode has not revealed any significant facts unknown to the historian, but he has presented them in a manner which few historians, in an age when they think more of content than style, could equal. Seven "informal" biographies make up the volume—brief essays which touch the high points of the lives of Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, Dolly Madison, Elizabeth Monroe, Louisa Adams, Rachel Jackson, Peggy O'Neil Eaton, all but two of whom have been First Ladies of their country. Only the journalist's flair could have induced him to include Rachel Jackson and Peggy Eaton in the list, for they really do not deserve a place with the group here described, and they might better have been passed over for Mrs. James K. Polk or some other First Lady.

Such a course might have saved the author from an unpleasant denunciation by the enraged citizens of Tennessee, who resented the presentation of indisputable facts which they had forgotten or never wished to know. It might also have spared him the suspicion of fondness for scandal for the mere sake of scandal. Neither Mrs. Jackson nor Mrs. Eaton ever presided at the White House or played any other rôle of first-rate importance to the nation.

The main value of the book consists in the intimate touches which it gives of the social and domestic life of a period which stretches

from late Colonial Days to the Democratic Thirties and in the popular style in which it is written. It deserves a prominent place in the literature of its kind—informal, realistic biography. Such works may cause some indignant mass meetings, but let the people have the truth! They know many of their present leaders are not saints and they must not expect too much of the men and women of the past. They must take them as they are and improve the breed if they can. That is Democracy's way.

J. FRED RIPPY.

**THE HOUSE OF LORDS IN THE XVIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY.** By A. S. Turberville. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1927. viii, 556 pp.

This book is both more and less than its title indicates. It is less, in that it does not contain an adequate description of the House of Lords as an organic part of the British government in the eighteenth century. For example, the House of Lords in the eighteenth century was the nation's supreme court of appeals, and many of the cases it dealt with in that time were collected and reported toward the close of the century. Mr. Turberville refers to the judicial functions of the House only in occasional paragraphs and gives no evidence that he has examined the reported cases or attempted to analyze them or estimate their significance.

In fact, save in the first chapter, which is "Introductory" and treats of "Procedure, Rights and Privileges," and in chapters xv-xvii, which are concerned with "The Recruitment of the House," "Social Influence of the Peerage," and "The Peers and the Constituencies," the book is merely another example of the English tradition of writing the political history of the eighteenth century from public documents, memoirs, and correspondence.

Since this conventional type of political history is what the author manifestly undertook to write, perhaps it is a little unfair to find fault with him for not writing something different. A political narrative, however, which centers around the House of Lords, even in the eighteenth century, necessarily omits an essential part of the picture. Moreover, it is doubtful whether it is possible to describe adequately the political activities of the peers without a wider acquaintance than the author evinces in this book with the principal medium in which political discussion in the eighteenth century was conducted, viz., the newspaper and periodical press. Finally, a century—or even the first eighty years of it, which is all that Mr. Turberville undertakes to cover—sees the passing of some three generations; and the reviewer submits that it

is hazardous, without more evidence than is offered, to think of so important a body as the House of Lords as maintaining substantial identity of character and function through so long and changeful a period. The current tendency among students of English history to confine their intensive study to some single century gives rise to the temptation to assume that changes went by centuries and not by the constant passage of time and the consequent change of persons and circumstances. For all that, Mr. Turberville has written a book which all students interested in the political history of England in the eighteenth century will want to read.

WILLIAM T. LAPRADE.

AN AMERICAN SAGA By Carl Christian Janson. Boston: Little, Brown, 1927.  
219 pp.

The reader will find this volume interesting and perhaps valuable. Immodestly enough, the author himself is the hero of the epic which he writes. The story begins in Denmark in 1888 and ends in New York in 1927. Mr. Jensen started life in the Old Country and at the very bottom of society, but long before he reached the age of forty he managed to acquire a college education and the preparation for a career in applied sociology. He feels that he could have made this rapid ascent only in America, where he arrived, with little money and less education, at the age of eighteen. What he likes most in his new country is its devotion to science and industry and its freedom from artificial barriers which impede one's rise.

Mr. Jensen dwells largely, though not entirely, upon the morbid, the volcanic, the tragic features both in the lower strata of society in Denmark and America and in life itself. The volume begins by a description of boyhood experiences in the slums of a Danish seaport and ends with a puzzling attempt of the writer to reconcile his own inner conflicts, wherein he thinks he has found himself but not God. Between these two chapters are six others. There are extremely realistic pictures of life at sea, in the New York underworld, and among the Millennial Dawnists of the American West, relieved only by the story of the writer's love and marriage and of his college experiences at the University of Minnesota.

The work has possibly some value as history, but it is perhaps more important as literature. There is a peculiar vividness and a bold vigor in Mr. Jensen's Style. In every paragraph one feels the freshness of his senses and his violent passion for living. "In his words is a racial fascination, a Scandinavian inheritance of poetry and the sea."

The publishers tell us that Carl Jensen's is a true story. Perhaps so, but it reads like the shockingly realistic ultra-modern novel—sex, criminals, skepticism, ruthlessness, and all the rest.

J. FRED RIPPY.

**TYPES OF MIND AND BODY.** By E. Miller. The New Science Series, W. W. Norton & Company: New York, [1927]. 95 pp.

**CULTURE: THE DIFFUSION CONTROVERSY.** By G. Elliott Smith, Bronislaw Malinowski, Herbert J. Spinden, Alexander Goldenweiser. The New Science Series, W. W. Norton & Company: New York, [1927]. 106 pp.

**THE STANDARDIZATION OF ERROR.** By Vilhjalmur Stefansson. The New Science Series, W. W. Norton & Company: New York, [1927]. 83 pp.

**LARS PORSENA; OR THE FUTURE OF SWEARING AND IMPROPER LANGUAGE.** By Robert Graves. To-day and To-morrow Series, E. P. Dutton & Company: New York, 1927. 77 pp.

Publishers and well-wishers of the race often run to extremes. They try to balance expensive books and solemn exhortations to uplift by small books and palatable enlightenment. We have already reviewed a few volumes of the To-day and To-morrow Series; we now introduce another series, edited by the psychologist, C. K. Ogden, which is on the whole more substantial and aims less at entertainment.

Dr. Miller's is a somewhat technical and highly expert presentation of recent findings in the classification of human types. In his rather quixotic dedication to Cervantes, the author calls his book "merely a footnote" to the Spanish masterpiece. The first chapter, "Morphology", shows the two main classes of man: the Pyknic (the large, stocky, muscular, and "clubbable" type; Gall., *Type Digestif*) and the Asthenic (the slender, bony, planothoracic, large-headed type; Gall., *Type Respiratoire*), with sub-forms, mainly of the latter, particularly the Athletic, or *Type Musculaire*. Then follow two longer chapters on "The Physiological Background" and "The Psychological Aspects", with a conclusion entitled "Cross-Currents". Along with a wealth of scientific theory and balance of conflicting contentions there are analyses and illustrations of individuals. The whole "argument" is recapitulated thus at the end: "In order to envisage the whole character of man we must view him, not as a body nor as mind, but as an integrated dynamic system of forces which in its inheritance and in its own history weaves the fabric of Personality."

The *Diffusion Controversy* is well named, but still better might it have been called a debate. Three distinguished men speak *pro* and *con* and a fourth sums up cannily by allowing that there is something to be

said on both sides. A debate, however, is rarely a means of finding out truth, and one is not impressed by the controversial methods employed by either side. It might readily be granted that certain phenomena of civilization are likely to have sprung up independently in the four quarters of the earth, and that others are more naturally accounted for by transmission. Then one should be glad to hear a sober discussion of routes and methods of transmission and of the precise kinds of phenomena which might be of spontaneous growth or which seem best explained as diffusional.

As good wine needs no bush, so Mr. Stefansson's gay vivacious exposé of mankind's perverse love of self-deception needs no review. Let all who may still cherish a lurking illusion that men worship Truth (except piously and negatively), that they have any predilection for clarity of thought or action, that they do not love darkness rather than light,—let all (quotha, for we all have our little blindsides) read, be amused, profited, and convinced.

Mr. Graves is a poet and in his way a theorist of poetry. No one would therefore expect his excursus on swearing and improper language to be either systematic or profound. Rather it is anecdotic and by turns amusing, witty, ironic (also flat and mechanical). It opens with an apology to the Censor and closes with an appreciation of Joyce's *Ulysses*, and what comes between may be read easily in a very short while.

P. F. BAUM.

THE THIRD BRITISH EMPIRE. BEING A COURSE OF LECTURES DELIVERED AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK. By Alfred Zimmern. London: Humphry Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926. 148 pp.

These five interesting lectures, delivered under the Julius Beer Foundation in January, 1925, are worth reading for the searching questions they raise. If the answers suggested are not always convincing, perhaps no answers would be. The lecturer does not disguise the difficulties which the British Empire faces, and the solutions which he suggests require no little courage. The weakness of the book lies in the failure of the author to keep in mind a clear definition of the terms he uses. Particularly is this true of such terms as *nation* and *nationality*. He is careful to attribute to these terms a "cultural" or "spiritual" rather than a political content, and he assumes that we can identify this content as appertaining to Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and similar nations. In doing this he seems in places to confuse folk-ways with nationality. Moreover, he gives no indication that, if called upon, he could disentangle English nationality from the English state. Finally, some

of his remarks would probably have been made with less assurance had he paid closer attention to the difficulties actually overcome by the men who accomplished the union of England and Scotland and the lack of insight displayed by those who permitted the separation between England and her American colonies.

WILLIAM T. LAPRADE.

A STATE MOVEMENT IN RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT; THE STORY OF NORTH CAROLINA'S FIRST EFFORT TO ESTABLISH AN EAST AND WEST TRUNK LINE RAILROAD. By Cecil Kenneth Brown. Chapel Hill, N. C.; The University of North Carolina Press, 1928. xiii, 300 pp.

There are various methods for the treatment of railroad history; for instance, the details of physical structure, management, finances, and economic services may be stressed. On the other hand, the question of commercial strategy and the ultimate goal of the project may be given first place. The latter is the theme of Mr. Brown's volume; and that theme has a double value. First, it gives an interpretation of the ante bellum policy of North Carolina toward railroads; in contrast to neighboring states, that policy was not to seek transportation for a cotton belt or to make contacts with the middle west—rather it was to create a local domestic market. This fact is very significant for North Carolina. It illustrates well one of a number of ways in which the state was not drawn into the vortex of Southern sectionalism.

The second value of the work is the background it affords for the recent agitation concerning a home port. In the past this also was a goal, but it was not achieved because, although political boundaries made North Carolina a unit, geography made its eastern territory dependent on the port of Norfolk. Contributing also to the failure of a home port and the home market ideal was the strategy of the old Richmond and Danville Railway, now the Southern. Finally, the outcome of these conflicting forces was the abandonment of state ownership and management of railroads and the rise of privately owned trunk lines.

Such a theme gives Mr. Brown's book distinction among the many histories of railroads. Finances, details of structure, even management, are discussed, but they are subordinated to one underlying theme.

W. K. B.

THE SEE OF PETER. By James T. Shotwell and Louise Ropes Loomis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. xxvi, 737 pp.

A celebrated sentence of Thomas Hobbes describes the Roman Church as the ghost of the Empire sitting on its grave. Had Thomas

Hobbes lived four centuries later he would have credited the ghost with vitality, and perhaps with bones, flesh and blood. Only since the Reformation period in which he lived have protagonists and antagonists of Roman claims ransacked the manuscripts of antiquity for evidence to justify their positions, and the times are still more recent when those manuscript sources of our knowledge have been subjected to rigorous expert criticism.

No question in the whole range of historical research has more profound implications, no question has burned with whiter controversial light than that of the Petrine theory of the papacy. The scriptural basis of the theory is the passage in Matthew XVI, 18, 19: "And I say to thee: That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church. And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven." Apart from the questions raised by this and other New Testament passages, the definite historical questions raised are (1) Was Peter ever in Rome? (2) Did he transfer his power to the bishop of Rome? (3) Was the Roman bishop the only successor to Peter—since Peter labored, likewise, in Jerusalem and Antioch? (4) Did Peter's primacy consist simply in an honorary primacy among patriarchs of equal authority or in supreme jurisdiction over the whole church?

The work before us presents in orderly sequence and in accurate and lively translation from original Greek and Latin, upwards of two hundred and fifty texts and documents exhibiting all that scholarship has ever discovered bearing on the Roman belief in Peter's apostolic primacy and in his founding of the Roman bishopric, and all the more pertinent texts illustrating the development of the ecclesiastical institution Peter was believed to have founded. As a further luxury the editors provide introductions explaining the historical situation and aiding one's independent analysis of the text and the determination of its interpretation and significance.

More specifically, the first division of the volume is concerned with Peter, the second with the rise of the See of Peter. The first records (1) the complete testimony of the New Testament texts, (2) all historical references to Peter's presence and death in Rome found in the Greek or Latin fathers to the beginning of the fifth century, and provides (3) ample illustration of the popular apocryphal literature which sprouted luxuriously about the figure of Peter. The second book gives (1) every contemporary record of Roman bishops to the end of the

second century, (2) the literature of controversy from Tertullian to the new day of Constantine illustrating the Roman bishops' claim to the power of Peter, and (3) the essential texts and evidence exhibiting the matured theory of Roman supremacy to the pontificate of Damascus (366-384 A.D.)

The book is no mere compilation. The editors are launching the readers upon a sea of controversial waters. They have suggested the determination of positions, and through leagues of calm we may bless them for lessening the force of the old strong winds of prejudice; for much of the course, how easy now to follow their beacons of illumination! But the most vigilant textual pilot must fail where no historical landmarks exist to guide. And when imagination must take the helm there is ever the chance for emotional bias to fill out the sails. There is still great opportunity, in other words, for interested devotees to assert particular views of the historical validity of Roman claims. But no longer can the discovered evidence be slighted—the texts, insistent, are before our eyes.

Scholars and general public must now add to the gratitude owed Professor Loomis for her earlier translated edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, the oldest history of the Papacy, their admiration and homage for the magisterial volume now devoted to the See of Peter. Much credit, too, belongs to Professor Shotwell, the general editor, but Professor Loomis has searched out "the kernel of the nut and the marrow of the wheat and the bones" and to her the greater credit is due. It is a labor of love, a work of inestimable and enduring value, a superlative product of American scholarship.

ERNEST W. NELSON.

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